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FEMALE BIOGRAPHY;

OR,

MEMOIRS

OF

ILLUSTRIOUS AND CELEBRATED

WOMEN,

OF ALL AGES AND COUNTRIES.

Alphabetically arranged.

BY MARY HAYS.

IN SIX VOLUMES.

VOL. V.

LONDON:

PRINTED FOR RICHARD PHILLIPS, 71, ST. PAUL'S CHURCH-YARD.

By Thomas Davison, White-Friars.

1803.

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MEMOIRS

OF

DISTINGUISHED WOMEN.

MARY, QUEEN OF SCOTS.

MARY queen of Scots, daughter of James the Fifth, and of Mary of Lorraine, his second wife, was born December 14th, 1542, a few days before the death of her father. An unsuccessful war against England had left the kingdom in a perilous state: many persons of the first rank had, at the unfortunate battle of Solway, fallen into the hands of the English, and were still detained prisoners at London. The religious disputes attending the reformation, added rage to the factions by which the state was rent. The government of a queen was unknown to the Scots, a fierce and martial people, who required to be restrained by a strong hand; while a long and

feeble minority gave encouragement to faction by the hope of impunity. James, who saw the tempest gather, had neglected to provide against its effects: his daughter and his kingdom were in despair abandoned to the chances of fortune, without a protector, a guardian, or a guide.

The choice of the nobles at length fell on the earl of Arran, next heir to the queen, whose proximity of blood gave him a title to the regency; a man of mild, unambitious temper, timid and irresolute, with inferior abilities, fitted rather to the enjoyment of private life, than to steer the helm of the state in turbulent times. Scarcely had he taken possession of his new dignity, when a negociation was opened with England, teeming with fatal consequences to himself and the kingdom. Henry VIII. after the death of James, conceived a project of marrying his only son Edward with the infant queen of Scots. To the prisoners taken at Solway he imparted his plan, and gave to them a promise of liberty, on condition that they should aid his designs: on receiving their assent to his proposition, he allowed them to return to Scotland, that by their presence in the parliament, which the regent had summoned, they might be the better enabled to fulfil their engagement. A cause entrusted to such zealous advocates could scarcely have failed of

success, had the temper of Henry fitted him to improve so favourable an occasion. The designs he had formed upon Scotland, which he had not the dexterity to disguise or conceal, were but too obvious; but when, instead of temporising with the jealousy of the Scots, he demanded that the person of their queen should be immediately committed to his charge, and that the government of the kingdom should, during her minority, be placed in his hands, he at once alarmed and incensed the whole nation.

His conditions were indignantly rejected, and, after some dark and unsuccessful intrigues, he was compelled to make concessions; to consent that the queen should, till she was ten years of age, continue in Scotland, and that he should himself be excluded from any share in the management of the state. The treaty was still so advantageous to England, that the regent by agreeing to it lost much of the public confidence. His enemies, by complaining that the kingdom was about to be degraded into a province of England, and that the true catholic faith would be extinguished under the tyranny of an excommunicated heretic, addressed themselves to the prejudices and the passions of the people. Animated by the pride of independence, and the dread of innova-

tion, the nation declared against the alliance. The regent, nevertheless, with an irresolution characteristic of a weak mind, ratified on the 25th of August the treaty with Henry: on the 3d of September he withdrew from Edinburgh, met the adverse party, renounced the friendship of England, and declared for the interest of France.

Henry, to gain the regent, had not been sparing of magnificent promises, but, on finding his influence less than he had been willing to believe, he no longer treated him with the same respect. The person of the young queen was in the custody of his adversaries, who increased daily in numbers and popularity. They formed, at Stirling, a separate court, and talked of electing another regent. The French king was ready to afford them protection, and the nation, through hatred of the English, would have united in their defence. Thus circumstanced, the earl of Arran was compelled to change his measures, and to go over to the side of the triumphant party. Henry was not of a temper to submit tamely to the indignity he had suffered. A considerable body of troops, destined for France, received his orders to sail for Scotland. Having landed near Leith, and made themselves masters of the place, they marched directly to Edinburgh, entered it with equal ease, set fire to the town, plundered the adjacent country, and,

on the approach of some troops collected hastily by the regent, retreated with their booty on board their fleet, and regained in safety the English coast. This piratical expedition, attended with but little advantage, served but to complete the disgust of the Scots, and to alienate them wholly from England. Hostilities were for a short time continued by both nations, with but little effect, till an end was put to this war of skirmishes by a peace in which France was included.

Henry had not yet relinquished his purpose of the union, to accomplish which he had chosen such rough methods. He was preparing to renew his proposals, when death put a sudden stop to his projects. During the minority of his son Edward, the ministers who had the principal direction of affairs conducted themselves with respect to Scotland upon the principles of their late master: without address to bring about the treaty they were earnest to effect, they determined to terrify the Scots into their measures. In the beginning of September, an army of eighteen thousand men, supported by a fleet of sixty sail, appeared on the borders of Scotland. The nation was not unprepared for this event, which it had for some time past foreseen. The

famous battle of Pinkey followed, so fatal to the Scottish army; more than ten thousand men fell on the plain, while the rout of the remainder was irretrievable and complete. This victory, however great, proved but little serviceable to the English, who wanted skill or leisure to improve their advantage. The Scots were by every new injury rendered yet more averse to the desired union, and precipitated into engagements with France. While the English wasted their treasure and their strength, the French reaped all the benefit. In an assembly of the nobles, that met at Stirling to consult on the situation of affairs, all eyes were turned towards France for aid and protection. In the violence of their resentment, and the smart of recent sufferings, they forgot their zeal for the independence of their country, which had prompted them to reject the rough wooing of Henry, and, by voluntarily offering their queen in marriage to the dauphin of France, to the court of which they proposed immediately to send her, granted from revenge what no feebler motive had been able to extort from them. An offer so flattering and advantageous was not to be rejected by France; the French monarch acceded without hesitation to the proposition of the Scottish embassadors,

and prepared to defend with vigour his new acquisitions.

By the influence of his army in Scotland, he obtained the concurrence of the parliament with the overtures made to him: in vain were the remonstrances of a few patriots against concessions so extravagant, by which Scotland was made a province of France, and Henry II. changed from an ally into master of the kingdom. The friendship of France had thus become more fatal to the nation than the enmity and violence of England. A measure of so much importance was precipitately decided, and the interest of a faction, and the passions of a moment, suffered to triumph over the honour of the nation.

No time was allowed by the French to the Scots to reflect on the probable consequences of this rash resolution. The fleet which had brought over their forces still remained on the coast, and the young queen was, without delay, conducted into France. Mary was at this time six years of age: by her education in the most refined and polished court in Europe, she acquired those accomplishments that gave lustre to her charms, and imbibed those prejudices which necessarily led to her subsequent misfortunes.

The mother of Mary had, in 1554, acquired

the regency of Scotland, a dignity which had long been the object of her ambition. Two years afterwards, aware of the precarious foundation of her power, which rested on the balance of contending factions, she sought to strengthen her interest by hastening the conclusion of the marriage of her daughter. Obstacles had, in the mean time, arisen in the French court, against the completion of the engagement. The constable Montmorenci had used all his interest to defeat an alliance, which reflected so much honour on the house of Lorraine. With this view, he had represented to Henry the difficulty of maintaining order in the absence of the sovereign among a turbulent people, and recommended him to bestow the hand of the young queen on one of the princes of the blood, who, by residing in Scotland, might preserve the kingdom as an useful ally to France. Over this envious but prudent council, the charms of Mary, now in the opening bloom of youth, which had captivated the heart of the dauphin, aided by the influence of her uncles, the princes of Lorraine, finally prevailed. In the ensuing year 1557, the French monarch applied to the parliament of Scotland, which appointed eight of its members to represent at the marriage of the queen the body of the nation: among these deputies, on whom the public choice had fallen,

were some of the avowed and zealous advocates of the reformation, which had gained rapid ground in Scotland. The instructions of the parliament on this occasion did credit to the wisdom of that assembly: while in the marriage articles a laudable care was taken for the interest and dignity of the queen, every precaution was also employed for preserving the independence of the nation, and for securing the succession in the Scottish line.

The young queen, the dauphin, and the king of France, ratified by the most solemn oaths every article, which they confirmed under their hands and seals. Under these appearances a scene of artifice was concealed. Previous to the transaction, Mary had been persuaded privately to subscribe three deeds, equally invalid and unjust.

By these, in the failure of heirs, she conferred the kingdom of Scotland, its inheritance and succession, as a free gift upon the crown of France, with a declaration, that all promises to the contrary which might be extorted from her should be void and of no obligation. In this disgraceful project Henry II., the keeper of the great seals, the duke of Guise, and the cardinal of Lorraine, were engaged. The youth of Mary, her foreign education, and her respect for the advice of her uncles, will, in this transaction, plead with every

candid mind in her excuse. The grant by which she bestowed her kingdom upon strangers was carefully concealed from the Scots: they seem, however, to have had some intimation of what had passed.

The nuptials between Mary and the Dauphin were, on the fourteenth of April, 1558, celebrated with great pomp. In the marriage treaty, the commissioners had agreed that the dauphin should assume the name of king of Scotland; a title which they considered merely as honorary, but to which the French laboured to annex some solid privileges. They insisted on its being publicly acknowledged, that the *crown-matrimonial* should be conferred upon him, and that he should be invested with all the rights pertaining to the husband of a queen.

The princes of Lorraine, intoxicated with successful ambition, extended their daring schemes yet farther. The marriage of their niece to the dauphin allied them nearly to the royal dignity, the only object which was yet unattained. To gratify their vanity, which had in proportion to their elevation become inordinate, and render their niece more worthy of the heir of the French monarchy, they set on foot her claim to the crown of England, founded on the declared illegitimacy of Elizabeth. The capricious Henry VIII. who

had caused both his daughters to be disinherited by act of parliament, and in his last will, with his characteristic inconsistency, called them back to the throne on the demise of their brother Edward, had (passing by the posterity of his eldest sister Margaret queen of Scotland) appointed the line of succession to continue in the younger sister, the descendant of the duchess of Suffolk. The validity of these deeds was never recognised by foreigners, though Mary had reigned in England without any complaint from the neighbouring princes. But the same cause which had facilitated her accession, raised an obstacle to the elevation of her sister Elizabeth. Rome trembled for its faith under a protestant queen of her abilities; the same fear seized the court of Spain; and France beheld, indignantly, a throne to which the queen of Scots had pretensions, occupied by a princess whose birth, in the opinion of the catholics, excluded her from any legal right of succession. Instigated by the Guises, Henry persuaded his daughter-in-law to assume, with her husband, the title of king and queen of England, a fatal presumption which led to the most disastrous consequences. The naval power of England was growing in reputation; the marine of France had been wholly neglected; the territories of Elizabeth therefore could only be approached

on the side of Scotland, where the princes of Lorraine determined to commence their attack. By using the name and pretensions of the Scottish queen, they hoped to rouse the English catholics, formidable for their zeal and numbers, and exasperated by the changes introduced in the national religion.

The aid of the Scots protestants to dethrone a queen, regarded by the reformed as the guardian of their faith, was not to be expected: to break their power and reputation in Scotland, therefore, became a part of the scheme. The queen regent was with difficulty prevailed on to enter into these views, which were contrary to the dictates of her unbiassed judgment. The conflicts which ensued it is not necessary here to relate; persecution produced its usual effects, and embittered the spirit it was meant to repress: both parties went farther than had at first been foreseen; political principles mingled with religious disputes, and Scotland was torn by intestine commotion.

About this time, July, 1559, died Henry II. of France. Towards the close of his reign, the favour of the house of Lorraine had begun to decline, and the constable Montmorenci regained his ascendant. This prudent minister imputed the disturbances in Scotland to the violent measures of the princes of Lorraine, and counselled the

king to adopt a more moderate system, by which union and tranquillity might be restored to the kingdom. But the untimely death of the king, and the accession of Francis II. defeated the wisdom and policy of the constable: allied so nearly to the throne by the dignity of their niece, the Guises again assumed the direction of affairs. Their former measures were now resumed, and prosecuted with additional vigour: the protestants, oppressed beyond the powers of endurance, called in the arm of Elizabeth to their aid: skirmishes and hostilities were renewed. The English fleet appeared in the road of Leith, and facilitated the operation of its forces by land. The members of the congregation, assembling from all parts, joined their allies, while the French army was unable to keep the field against an enemy so much superior in numbers.

The queen regent had, on the approach of the English troops, retired to the castle of Edinburgh, where she soon after expired, a victim to her attachment to the Guises and the consequent misfortunes of her administration. Prudent, discerning, intrepid, humane, gentle without weakness, and just without rigour, Mary of Lorraine possessed qualities which might have rendered her people happy and her regency illustrious, but for her devotion to the princes her brothers, and the

interest of France, her native country. A few days previous to her death, she lamented this docility, and the fatal issue of those intemperate councils which she had been seduced against her judgment to pursue. With the candour of a generous mind, she confessed the errors of her administration, deprecated their effects, and implored the forgiveness of those to whom they had been hurtful. She even invited the attendance of one of the most eminent of the reformed preachers, listened to his instructions with attention, and prepared herself to meet death with firmness.

In the mean time, the French, shut up in Leith by the English who laid close siege to the place, were compelled to negociate. The situation of France, menaced in its turn by civil commotions, called off the attention of the Guises from Scotland, whence it became necessary to withdraw the troops. A treaty was accordingly entered into with England, among the articles of which the right of Elizabeth to her crown was expressly acknowledged in the strongest terms; and Francis and Mary solemnly engaged neither to assume the title, nor to bear the arms of king and queen of England, in any time to come. Honourable as was this concession to Elizabeth, the conditions she obtained for her allies the Scots were not less advantageous. Thus the reformed party acquired

strength by opposition, and from feeble beginnings gradually obtained formidable powers. The sovereign authority was by this treaty transferred into their hands, and the limited prerogative possessed by the crown nearly annihilated. A few days after its conclusion, both the French and the English armies evacuated Scotland. By this slight sketch of the Scottish affairs previous to the return of Mary, the circumstances in which she ascended the throne will be more easily comprehended.

Towards the conclusion of the year 1560, by the death of Francis II. the situation of his widow was materially changed. Mary had by her beauty and address obtained over the mind of her husband an entire ascendancy, which she had transferred to her uncles, the princes of Lorraine. Francis, weak in constitution and feeble in mind, followed implicitly wherever he was led. His death delivered the Scots from a formidable administration, which threatened finally the ruin of their independence. Catherine de Medicis, the queen-mother, who, during the minority of Charles IX. assumed the direction of the French affairs, was far from regarding Mary with a favourable eye: in the preceding reign they had been rivals in power, when the charms of the wife triumphed without difficulty over the authority of the mother. Catherine, whose predomi-

nant passion had thus been thwarted, beheld with secret pleasure the humiliation of Mary, which she aggravated by the reserve and coldness of her behaviour. Forsaken by the swarm of courtiers who had basked like insects in the sunshine of her prosperity, overwhelmed with sorrow by the reverse of her fortunes, and mortified by the studied slights of the queen-mother, Mary retired from the court to Rheims, and indulged in solitude her grief and her reflections. The dream of happiness had fled for ever; all before her was a dreary waste; a train of misfortunes, which she already anticipated in idea, pressed upon her steps; the transient brightness which had beamed upon her youth served only by contrast to deepen the gloom which now enveloped her prospects on every side. Even the princes of Lorraine were obliged to narrow their views, to give up their projects with regard to England, and to turn their attention to their domestic interests.

The news of the death of the French monarch was received by the Scots with transports of joy, as the only event which could give firmness to the system of religion and government which they had now introduced. The protestant church had about this time begun to assume a regular form.

The prior of St. Andrew's was appointed by the convention to pass over to France, and invite the

queen to return to her native land; a circumstance which, though dreaded by some, was by the bulk of the people expected with ardour. But the zeal of the catholics got the start of the prior in paying their court to Mary. Lesly, their deputy (afterwards bishop of Ross), sought to excite in her mind a distrust of her protestant subjects, and to prevail on her to throw herself into the arms of the catholics. For this purpose he wished her to land at Aberdeen, where the reformers had made but an inconsiderable progress. Twenty thousand men, he assured her, should here join her, and with such an army, encouraged by her presence, she might with ease overturn the protestant church. The princes of Lorrain, intent on defending themselves against Catherine of Medicis, were not at this juncture disposed to listen to romantic proposals: the French officers also who had served in Scotland dissuaded Mary from violent measures, and determined her, by a representation of the power of the protestants, to court their friendship by every art. Influenced by these prudent resolutions, she received the prior of St. Andrew's with marks of attachment and confidence.

Accustomed to the refinement and elegance of the French court, Mary was in no haste to embark for Scotland: fondly lingering in France, the

scene of her early attachments and of all her pleasures, she reflected with a degree of horror on the barbarism of her own country, and the turbulence of the people. At length the persuasions of her uncles, the impatience of the Scots, and above all the coldness and neglect of the queen-mother, determined her to commence the dreaded voyage. While Mary was preparing for her departure, the seeds were sown of that personal jealousy between her and Elizabeth which embittered the days of the former and shortened her life.

The causes of this animosity, of which the ratification of the treaty of Edinburgh was the immediate occasion, lay still deeper. Nearly all the articles of the treaty had been on both sides scrupulously observed; one only remained as the source of contention. Cecil, the English minister, had proved in the negociation an overmatch for the refinements of the French embassador, whom he had compelled to acknowledge, not merely that the crowns of England and Ireland belonged to Elizabeth, but also to engage that, in all times to come, Mary should abstain from using the titles. To ratify this treaty, so indefinitely worded, would have proved fatal to the hopes of Mary, of whose ambition the English crown was a worthy object, and whose pretensions to which gave her importance in the eyes of all Europe.

Her title was by many esteemed preferable to that of Elizabeth herself: the English catholics openly espoused this opinion; even the protestants denied not her right to the succession. Thus circumstanced, by ratifying the disputed article she would have lowered her rank among the neighbouring princes; the zeal of her adherents would have cooled; and her hope of mounting the throne of England would, in all probability, have been for ever blasted.

These consequences escaped not the penetration of Elizabeth, who hoped to sooth or terrify her rival into a compliance with her demands, an event which might have been turned greatly to her advantage. Such a renunciation from Mary would have left the succession open and undetermined, by means of which she might have been kept by Elizabeth in perpetual anxiety and suspense; or the authority of parliament might have broken the order of lineal succession, and have transferred the crown to some other branch of the royal blood.

It is true, that the equivocal expressions inserted by Cecil in the treaty might have been exchanged for words less ambiguous, in which Mary might have promised to renounce her title to the crown of England during the lives of Elizabeth and her lawful posterity: but such an amend-

ment accorded not with the views of either queen. Mary, though compelled to suspend, chose not to relinquish her claim, which she secretly determined to assert on the first prospect of success. Nor would Elizabeth even tacitly acknowledge the right of her rival, though after her own decease. These sentiments were on neither side avowed.

To the jealousy of power between the rival queens was added that of beauty. Elizabeth, not content to surpass her sex in the stronger qualities of the mind, cherished under the dignity of the queen the emulation of the woman: inferior to Mary in personal graces, she excelled her in political talent and the arts of government, and in the more important pre-eminence of the rank in which she was destined to move. Not satisfied with this superiority, she suffered the report of the charms of the Scottish queen to prey on her mind, and tarnish the lustre of its qualities. It is perhaps the sensibility necessary to form a superior character, that renders the greatest minds accessible to those weaknesses that confound the ignorant, gratify the malignant, and afford to the philosopher materials for reflection. He who possesses no exuberant activity, confines himself with ease to the straight and level path. To guard this observation, it may be necessary to add,

that eccentricity alone can never be admitted as a claim to genius, however it may sometimes prove its disgrace.

Though no stranger to the difficulties of Mary with respect to the ratification, Elizabeth continued to urge it, while the queen of Scots, to gain time, contrived to elude the demand. Both queens covered their real sentiments under a profusion of polite expressions of regard.

In sailing from France to Scotland, the course lay along the English coast: Mary, to secure herself from the insults of the English fleet, or to provide a retreat in the harbours of England should the weather prove tempestuous, sent to request of Elizabeth a safe-conduct during her voyage, and this demand was rejected in a manner calculated to excite distrust. Though filled with indignation by the ungenerous behaviour of the English queen, Mary suffered it not to retard her departure. A train, suitable to her dignity as the queen of two powerful kingdoms, accompanied her to Calais, where she embarked. In her retinue were six princes of Lorraine, her uncles, with many of the most eminent nobles of France. The queen-mother, who in secret rejoiced at her departure, spared no circumstance of magnificence and external respect to grace her journey. After taking leave of her attendants

with a sorrowful heart and eyes bathed in tears, Mary quitted the shore on which fortune had smiled on her, to embark on the ocean, which, by its instability and storms, was but too emblematic of the fate that awaited her. While the French coast remained in sight, she continued to gaze on it intently, and, sighing often, appeared lost in reflection. 'Farewel, France!' cried she from time to time—'Farewel, beloved country, which I shall never more behold!' When the darkness of the night concealed the land from her view, she would neither retire from the deck, nor take refreshment; but, commanding a couch to be brought, waited with impatience the return of day. The vessel made but little way during the night: in the morning France was still in sight, on the prospect of which she continued to dwell with melancholy pleasure. She repeated again, while her sight could distinguish the coast, the same expressions of tender regret. By the favour of a thick fog the vessel some days afterwards escaped the English fleet, which waited to intercept it: Mary, after an absence of thirteen years, landed on the 19th of August, 1561, safely at Leith, in her native country.

She was received by her subjects with shouts and acclamations of joy; but her arrival being unexpected, no preparations had been made for it,

nor could the poverty of the country be concealed from her. She was conducted to the palace of Holyrood-house with little pomp, a circumstance by which she was deeply affected: accustomed to the splendor and magnificence of France, and at an age to be dazzled by external appearances, the change in her situation appeared a melancholy presage of what was to follow.

The juncture at which Mary ascended the throne of her ancestors required a wisdom and steadiness of conduct scarcely to be expected in her tender sex and age. The rage of religious controversy, aggravated by past and present injuries, yet existed in all its fervor. The nobles were, by the absence of their sovereign, accustomed to independence: the delegated jurisdiction of the regent had carried with it little authority, and inspired no respect. A licentious spirit had spread through all ranks: for the two preceding years anarchy had prevailed throughout the kingdom, which had existed without a regent, without a supreme council, without the power, or even the form, of an established government. France, the ancient ally of the state, was despised; the English, its late enemies, had grown into confidence with the nation, and gained an ascendant in all its councils. It was the interest of Elizabeth to depress the royal authority in Scotland, and to

foment among the people a spirit of disaffection. Such was the state of affairs, when a young princess, not nineteen years of age, a stranger to the laws, to the manners of the country, without experience, without support, and without a friend, assumed the reins of government!

Opposed to these disadvantages, it may be urged, that the people, unaccustomed to the residence of their prince, might be pleased with the novelty and dazzled by the splendor of the royal presence; that the places of power and profit in the hands of the queen might attach to her the nobles by the ties of honour and interest; that by her protection, her affability, and the charms of her youth and beauty, she might engage to her the hearts of those by whom she was surrounded.

From every part of the kingdom the nobility crowded to do homage to their queen, and by their testimonies of duty and attachment to erase from her remembrance their past misconduct. The court was filled by the most accomplished of the French nobility, who by their amusements, added to the gaiety and amenity of their manners, began to polish and soften the rudeness of the natives. The queen, by the graces of her person, the insinuation of her address, and the elegance of her manners, commanded every-where admiration and respect. To the accomplishments

of her own sex, she added many of the acquirements of the other. She was conversant both with the modern and the Latin languages; she had made a considerable progress in the arts and sciences, which were at that time cultivated as necessary and ornamental. Above all, she stole on the affections of her subjects by mingled dignity, courtesy, and sweetness.

But in the midst of the flattering presage which arose out of these circumstances, while all parties seemed contending for the favour of their youthful queen, the spirit of the age broke out. Mary, on the Sunday after her arrival, ordered mass to be celebrated in the chapel of her palace: a secret murmur succeeded among the protestants of the court, who were unwilling to allow to their monarch the liberty of conscience they claimed. Complaints and menaces followed: the servants of the chapel were insulted and abused; and but for the seasonable interference of the prior of St. Andrew's, greater excesses must have ensued. The fury of the reformers against the church they had deserted can scarcely be conceived by enlightened minds. Every instance of condescension to the papists was esteemed an act of apostacy: a single mass was more formidable to the nation than a foreign invasion. In the infancy of knowledge,

only one side of the question being weighed, the balance is sure to preponderate. The uninformed know not to doubt. Many of the protestants, without thinking of convincing their queen by argument or reclaiming her by indulgence, would have abruptly denied her the privilege of worshipping God according to her own notions of propriety. The prior of St. Andrew's, with other leaders of the party, interposed to restrain this furious zeal; and, in despite of the murmurs of the people, and the instigation of their preachers, to obtain for the queen and her domestics the undisturbed exercise of their religion.

Mary rewarded this compliance of the protestants by causing it to be proclaimed, that any attempt towards an alteration or a subversion of the reformed church, which, though established throughout the kingdom, had not yet received the royal sanction, should be regarded as a capital crime.

In conformity with the plan which had been settled in France, she committed the administration of affairs wholly to the protestants. In her council, which was filled with the most distinguished persons of that party, no papist was admitted to confidence. To the prior of St. Andrew's and Maitland of Lethington, were given

all the power and reputation of favourite ministers. This choice was peculiarly acceptable to the people. Mary, by the prudent advice of these ministers, conducted herself with a propriety and moderation that could not fail of gaining her the hearts of the people. Such were the fair auspices under which her reign commenced.

To effect a sincere reconciliation with Elizabeth was also an object of great importance to the prosperity of the queen of Scots. In the beginning of her administration she was really desirous of accomplishing this purpose; yet the breach, from various incidents, seemed to widen rather than to heal. Notwithstanding the obstacles which Elizabeth had opposed to the return of Mary to Scotland, she failed not by her embassador to congratulate her arrival. To return this civility, Maitland was sent to London as the bearer of compliments not more sincere. Dissimulation takes deep root, and flourishes in courts as in its native soil. Randolph, the English envoy, had orders to urge Mary on the subject of the ratification; while Maitland, in London, sought to amuse Elizabeth by pretences and apologies for his mistress's delay. Yet to extricate herself in some degree from the difficult situation

in which she was placed, Mary instructed her embassador to signify her willingness to disclaim any right to the crown during the lives of Elizabeth and her posterity, if, in failure of these, her title to the succession was acknowledged by the English parliament. A fair and reasonable proposition, which ought to have been accepted, but which was nevertheless peremptorily refused.

About this time, Sept. 1, 1561, Mary made her public entry into Edinburgh, and was received by the citizens with ardent demonstrations of duty and affection: yet, even on an event such as this, they could not forbear to discover the spirit by which they were actuated. In every spectacle and pageant which was exhibited on the occasion, allusions were introduced to the supposed vengeance of the Almighty (whose thunders the different sects of religionists are so fond of wielding) on papists and idolaters. While studying to amuse and flatter their queen, they mingled insults on the religion which she professed.

To reform the police of the country, and to restore the regular administration of justice, next occupied the attention of Mary. During the unsettled state of the kingdom a dangerous licentiousness had prevailed: to remedy these disorders,

which had become oppressive and intolerable, was an acceptable and popular act. The prior of St. Andrew's, vested for this service with extraordinary powers, under the title of the queen's lieutenant, executed his commission with a vigour and ability that reflected credit upon his character, and the choice of the queen. In his absence the leaders of the papists made some efforts, but without success, towards insinuating themselves into the royal favour and confidence: whatever might be the secret sentiments of Mary towards the party, she wisely chose to continue the administration in the hands in which it had been so ably managed.

Towards the close of the year 1561 a convention of estates was held, principally for the consideration of ecclesiastical affairs. The assembly of the church, which sat at the same time, presented a petition containing many demands respecting the suppression of popery, the encouragement of protestantism, and a provision for the maintenance of their clergy, who had hitherto been supported by the benevolence of the people. After much contention, it was determined that an exact account should be taken of the value of ecclesiastical benefices throughout the kingdom; that the present incumbents, to whatever party

they adhered, should be allowed to keep possession; that two thirds of their revenue should be reserved for their own use, and the remainder, out of which the queen was to assign a sufficient maintenance for the protestant clergy, annexed to the crown. This moderation, by which many of the catholic clergy were permitted to retain their revenues, though apparently in opposition to the zeal of reformation, was consistent with the interest and welfare of the nation. The riches of the church might have proved equally dangerous to the liberties of the nation, and the independence of the nobles, whether wholly transferred to the protestant ministers, or restored to the crown. The reformed clergy gained but little by this new regulation; they had found more facility in kindling the zeal than in extinguishing the avarice of their proselytes: the sum allotted for their use was paid with little exactness; and they still lived in the poverty of the primitive disciples of Christ.

The moderation of the queen's administration, and the elegance of her court, had in some degree softened the ferocity of the nobles; while her presence and authority had given a check to their factious spirit. But this tranquillity was of no long continuance, and quickly gave place to the

most violent contentions. The feudal and aristocratical state of Scotland limited the jurisdiction of the monarch; among the barons and great families the seeds of animosity were, by the unsettled state of property and the clashing of interests, thickly sown. The rival clans, without consulting the throne, invaded each other, and appealed to force for the decision of their claims; hereditary hatred was transmitted with estates, and posterity prosecuted the quarrels of their ancestors. Such a dispute had subsisted between the houses of Hamilton and of Bothwell; the earls of which happening to be both in waiting at the same time, frequent broils took place among their followers in the streets of Edinburgh. Their reconciliation, which was brought about through the mediation of their friends, and more particularly of Knox, was productive of consequences still more mischievous.

Some days after this coalition, the earl of Arran, an extravagant and eccentric character, a kinsman to the Hamiltons, and a lover of the queen's, came in all haste to Knox, and then to the prior of St. Andrew's, to confess with confusion and terror, that his house and that of Bothwell, in order to obtain the sole direction of affairs, had conspired to murder the prior and the other mi-

nisters of the queen. The persons thus accused, whatever might have been the foundation of the accusation, denied the guilt imputed to their charge. Their known character, and the spirit of the times, justified the queen and her ministers in having them secured and separately confined.

But by the deeper designs of George Gordon, earl of Huntly, against the prior, more important events were produced. The jurisdiction of this nobleman, whose estate far exceeded that of any other subject, extended over many of the northern counties: both parties, by whom he was courted and feared, connived at his encroachments in the north; while by artifice or force, either of which he well knew how to employ, he added daily to his possessions and his power. He had observed with jealousy and vexation the growing credit of the prior of St. Andrew's, whom he considered as a rival in the favour of the queen, to which his own zeal for the popish church seemed to give him a better claim. By personal injuries the rivalship of power was embittered. To recompense the services of the prior, Mary had determined to create him an earl, and to make choice of Mar as the place whence he should take his title. The lands of that name, which were be-

stowed as a support of the rank, though a part of the royal demesnes, had been for several years possessed by the earls of Huntly. The intrusion of a rival so formidable into his territories, added to the loss he had sustained, filled the earl with indignation and alarm. By an incident which happened about the same time, his suspicions and rage received increase. His third son, sir John Gordon, was involved in a dispute respecting the property of an estate with lord Ogilvie, which in its progress had become a deadly feud. A scuffle had in consequence taken place in the streets of Edinburgh, in which lord Ogilvie was dangerously wounded by Gordon. The magistrates having seized both the offenders, the queen commanded them to be strictly confined. In an age accustomed to anarchy, even this interference of the police was considered as an intolerable rigour; the friends of each party began to assemble their vassals with a view to overawe the decisions of justice. Gordon, in the mean time, escaped from prison, and, flying into Aberdeenshire, loudly complained of the indignity he had suffered. This circumstance, as all the actions of the queen were imputed to the earl of Mar, failed not to exasperate the resentment of Huntly.

About this period, August 1, 1562, it happened

that Mary set out on a progress into the northern parts of the kingdom, attended by the earls of Mar and Morton, Maitland, and other leaders of the party. Huntly was mortified by the royal presence in a country where for many years no power had been known superior to his own. The actions of the queen, while under the direction of Mar, could not fail of being misrepresented and misconstrued into injuries. The pride of Huntly was offended, and his jealousy inflamed, by a combination of circumstances; while his passions were kept in perpetual agitation. On the arrival of Mary in the north, he employed his wife, a woman of address, to intercede for the pardon of their son. But the queen required that he should deliver himself into the hands of justice, and rely wholly upon her clemency. Gordon was persuaded to comply with this demand, and to promise to enter himself prisoner in the castle of Stirling, of which lord Erskine, the uncle of Mar, was at that time governor. This circumstance, and the inflexibility of the queen, being attributed by Huntly to the rancour of Mar, augmented his animosity against him.

Sir John Gordon had in the mean time set out towards Stirling; but, instead of performing his engagement, found means to escape from his

guards, and return to take the command of his followers, who were rising in arms throughout the north. By this insurrection it was intended to support the blow which was meditated by Huntly against his principal adversaries. It was proposed by the conspirators to cut off by assassination Mar, Morton, and Maitland; the time and place for the perpetration of the murders had been several times appointed, though unforeseen accidents had hitherto frustrated the execution of the plan. The house of Huntly at Strathbogie was the last place selected as the scene of this tragedy; but the queen, on her journey thither, having heard of the flight and rebellion of Gordon, refused in her indignation to enter under the father's roof, and by this fortunate resentment preserved her ministers from inevitable destruction.

Huntly was by the failure of these projects precipitated into open rebellion, since it seemed impossible otherwise to effect the ruin of his rivals. On the arrival of Mary at Inverness, the commanding officer, by the order of Huntly, shut the gates against her, and compelled her to lodge in the town, which was defenceless and open, and which the followers of the earl quickly surrounded. The queen, attended but by a slender train, was seized on this event with a just consternation;

while expecting every instant the approach of the insurgents, some ships were ordered into the river to secure her escape. The loyalty of the neighbouring clans, who took arms in her defence, saved their sovereign from the danger which threatened her. By their assistance she forced the castle to surrender, and inflicted on the governor a punishment for his presumption.

This conduct of Huntly drew on him a new and severer mortification: Lord Erskine having pretended a right to the earldom of Mar, the minister resigned it in his favour, and received at the same time from the queen the title of earl of Murray, with the estate annexed to the dignity, which had been for some years past in the possession of Huntly. From this circumstance he concluded his family destined to destruction; and, dreading to be stripped gradually of all his possessions, no longer affected to disguise his intentions, but in defiance of the royal proclamation openly took up arms. Instead of yielding up those places of strength which he was required to surrender, the persons commissioned by the queen to take possession were either dispersed or cut in pieces by his adherents; while he himself advanced at the head of a considerable force towards Aberdeen, where the queen had returned with

her small court. Murray had only a handful of men in whom he could place confidence: to form the appearance of an army he was obliged to call to his aid the neighbouring barons, from whom, as either favouring the designs of Huntly or standing in awe of his power, but little service could be expected. With these troops he however marched towards the enemy, whom he found at Corrichie posted to great advantage. Having commanded his northern associates to begin the attack, on the first motion of the enemy they turned their backs and fled; while the followers of Huntly, throwing aside their spears and breaking their ranks, rushed forward sword in hand to the pursuit. In this critical juncture Murray stood immovable on a rising ground, with the small but trusty body of his adherents, who, presenting their spears to the enemy, received them with a firmness for which they were not prepared. The Highland broad-sword is not calculated to encounter the Scottish spear: the irregular attack of the troops of Huntly was repulsed without difficulty by this firm battalion, and, before they had recovered from their confusion, the runaways, willing to recover their credit, returned, fell upon them and completed the rout. Huntly, whose corpulence unfitted him

for flight, was in the pursuit trodden to death. His sons sir John and Adam were taken, and Murray returned triumphant with his prisoners to Aberdeen. Sir John Gordon was tried, and three days after the battle suffered death. Adam was pardoned in consideration of his youth. Lord Gordon, who had been privy to the designs of his father, was seized in the south, tried, and found guilty of treason; but his punishment was remitted through the clemency of the queen. The first parliament proceeded with rigour against this great family, whose power and fortune were reduced to the lowest ebb.

In the beginning of the summer of the same year (1562) Mary, desirous of entering into a more intimate correspondence with Elizabeth, employed Maitland to request that a personal interview might take place between them, somewhere in the north of England. Elizabeth affected to approve of the proposal, which she could not in decency reject, the time and circumstances of the meeting were therefore immediately appointed. But, too prudent to admit into her kingdom a rival whose beauty and address she so much dreaded, she contrived, under various pretences, to elude the interview for that season.

The assembly of the church, during this year, met twice, and prayed the queen for a redress of

their grievances. Mary was not forward to exert herself for their relief; and her ministers, though all zealous protestants, but growing rich on the spoils of the church, were equally regardless of the demands and indigence of their brethren.

The queen had passed two years in a state of widowhood, during which her mild administration had secured her the hearts of her subjects: they now became impatient for her marriage, that the crown might descend in the line of their ancient monarchs. By the fame of her beauty and accomplishments, added to her rank and expectations, many different princes were prompted to solicit her alliance. Scotland, by its situation, threw much weight into whatever scale it should happen to fall; and Europe waited with anxiety for the determination of the queen. The marriage of Mary, as it interested the passions of several princes, gave rise to a number of contradictory intrigues.

The princes of the house of Austria were apprehensive of the ambition of France, should Mary again choose a husband among its princes: to prevent such an event, the emperor negociated with the cardinal of Lorraine respecting an union between the Scottish queen and the archduke Charles.

Philip II. envying the Austrian so important a

prize, used all his influence with the house of Lorraine to procure the hand of their niece for his son don Carlos, heir to the extensive domains of the Spanish monarchy. Catherine de Medicis, dreading the marriage of the queen of Scots with any of the Austrian princes, and no less jealous lest the princes of Lorraine should strengthen their power by an alliance with Spain, instantly dispatched an agent into Scotland to offer to the queen the hand of the duke of Anjou, the brother of her former husband, who soon after, on the premature fate of Charles IX. mounted the throne of France.

The pretensions of these rivals were attentively weighed by Mary, who deliberated where to fix her choice. The high birth of the archduke Charles was his only recommendation. The duke of Anjou, a handsome and gallant prince, next engaged her attention: but the example of Henry VIII. warned her against contracting a marriage with her brother-in-law; nor could she bear the idea of appearing in France in a rank inferior to what she had formerly held. She therefore inclined with partiality to the Spanish proposal, which could not fail to flatter her ambition. There happened however three circumstances which combined to divert her from a foreign alliance.

The first of these was the murder of her uncle the duke of Guise, whose ambition had involved his country in civil war, and who perished by the hand of an assassin; a blow which proved fatal to the queen of Scots, and which obliged her to contract her views. The second was the opinion of the queen of England, who was deeply interested in the marriage of Mary, and who observed her conduct with an anxious eye. The union of the queen of Scots with a catholic prince was an event which she had cause to fear: the neighbourhood of the Austrian princes, her avowed and bigotted enemies, would have proved more particularly dangerous to her power. Against such an alliance she instructed Randolph, her embassador, to remonstrate in the strongest terms. She should consider such a connection, she told Mary, as a breach in the personal friendship which so happily united them: the English nation would also regard it as the dissolution of the confederacy which subsisted between the two kingdoms; and, in order to preserve their own religion and liberties, would be compelled to take measures prejudicial to her right of succession, which they wanted neither power nor pretence to invalidate. This threatening was accompanied with an ambiguous promise that,

should Mary choose a husband agreeable to the English nation, her title to the succession should be examined, and recognised if justly founded. No hint was however at present dropped respecting the person on whom it was wished her choice might fall: obscure intimations were only thrown out that a native of Britain, or one not of princely rank, would be the safest and most acceptable. Mary, though obliged to submit to the indignity, was justly mortified by this advice: destitute, through the death of her uncle, of foreign aid, and intent on the English succession, the great object of her ambition and her hopes, it became necessary to court a rival whom she could not with impunity offend.

To these considerations were added the wishes of her own subjects, who, taught by experience, dreaded an union with any great potentate, whose power might be employed to crush their religion and liberties. They foresaw, and trembled, that the crown, strengthened by new dominions and alliances, would stretch the prerogative beyond its ancient limits. Their earnestness to prevent such an event threw them into the arms of England, which could not fail to afford its aid towards the prevention of such a measure. By the assistance of the English fleet it was not difficult to obstruct

the landing of any foreign prince, or even, if necessary, to seize and secure the person of their sovereign. The catholics, dispirited by the loss of the earl of Huntly, were not in a condition to obstruct their designs.

Thus circumstanced, Mary for the present laid aside the idea of a foreign alliance, and, to remove the jealousies of both countries, appeared willing to sacrifice her aspiring plans.

This year (1563) the parliament met, for the first time since the return of the queen into Scotland. Her ministers possessing the confidence of the nation, the proceedings were conducted with perfect unanimity. The grant of the earldom of Murray to the prior of St. Andrew's was confirmed. Huntly, with several of his vassals and dependents, was attainted. The act of oblivion mentioned in the treaty of Edinburgh received the royal sanction. But the queen, who had determined never to ratify the treaty, was careful that this sanction should not be deemed any acknowledgment of its validity; nor had she consented to it but in compliance with the solicitation of the lords of parliament, who, on their knees, besought her to allay by this condescension the jealousies and apprehensions of her subjects. No attempt was

made at this time to procure her assent to the laws establishing the protestant religion: her ministers, though themselves of the reformed church, were aware of the imprudence of urging such a request. Through their interest, Mary had agreed to tolerate and to protect the protestants; they had even prevailed on her to prosecute some of the Romish prelates for celebrating mass contrary to her proclamation, though in her heart she was still zealously attached to the church in which she had been educated. While she granted from political motives what her inclination disapproved, they wisely judged that the moderation of those who professed the reformed faith was the best method of reconciling the queen to their principles, and gradually wearing her prejudices away: importunity and violence were not likely to extort a compliance that would not be granted to the wishes of her people.

But the zeal of the protestant clergy was not satisfied with this just and temperate reasoning: eager and inflexible, it knew not to yield and brooked no delay. They insisted that the present opportunity of establishing religion by law was not to be neglected. The good sense of the ministers was deemed apostacy, and their moderation a criminal servility. Knox renounced so-

lemnly the friendship of the earl of Murray, as a man devoted to the royal interest, and regardless of those objects which he had hitherto esteemed most sacred. The preachers vented their indignation from the pulpit, which resounded with declamations against idolatry, with presages respecting the queen's marriage with a foreigner, and reproaches the most bitter and virulent against those who from interested motives had deserted the cause of truth. The populace, whom these invectives inflamed, forgot in their zeal the dictates of justice, and proceeded to acts of outrage and violence. During the absence of Mary on a progress into the west, mass continued to be celebrated in her chapel at Holy-rood house. The multitude of those who attended on the ceremony provoked the bigotry of the citizens of Edinburgh, who, free from the restraint of the royal presence, riotously interrupted the service, insulted the audience, and filled them with terror. Two of the leaders of this tumult were seized, and appointed to take their trial.

Knox, to screen from danger these turbulent zealots whom he considered as sufferers in a holy cause, issued circular letters, requiring all such as professed the true religion, or were concerned for its preservation, to assemble at Edinburgh on the

day of trial, and support by their presence their distressed brethren. One of these letters fell into the hands of the queen. To assemble the people without the royal authority was construed to be treason, and a resolution was taken to prosecute Knox for the crime before the privy council. Fortunately for him, his judges were zealous protestants, and the very men who, during the late commotions, had openly resisted the royal authority. Under precedents drawn from their own conduct, Knox endeavoured to defend himself; and after a long hearing was, of course, acquitted. It would have been scarcely possible for his judges to have condemned him without at the same time involving themselves. Even Sinclair, bishop of Ross, president of the court of session and a papist, heartily concurred in this decision; a proof of the impunity with which the regal authority might at that time be insulted in Scotland.

The marriage of the queen still continued to be the object of attention and intrigue. Elizabeth, while she affected to direct Mary, treated her with a disgusting reserve and kept her in unnecessary suspense; hinting only at the person whom she destined to be her husband, without fully explaining herself. Mary, notwithstanding this

treatment, shewed so much deference for the English queen in all her actions and expressions, that it was believed by foreign princes that she had wholly surrendered herself to Elizabeth's direction. Catherine of Medicis took alarm on this occasion, and, though her whole conduct had exhibited a series of indignities to the queen of Scots, she now sought earnestly, by her artifices and attentions, to conciliate her favour and to efface the remembrance of what had passed. The arrears of her dowry, of which the queen-mother had stopped the remittance, were instantly paid; and efforts were made to extend in France the privileges of the Scots. Mary understood too well the character of her mother-in-law to be imposed on by these pretences; nor did the negociation with England suffer from these circumstances any interruption.

The solicitude of the Scots for the speedy marriage of their queen, at length determined Elizabeth to withdraw the veil with which she had covered her purpose, and to declare the name of the person whom she had selected to be the husband of Mary. Lord Robert Dudley, her favourite, and afterwards earl of Leicester, a nobleman distinguished for his elegant manners and personal graces, was the man whom

she proposed and recommended to the queen of Scots*. The spirit of Mary, for whose favour so many princes had contended, revolted at the degradation of bestowing her hand upon a subject. But, while she felt the humiliating purpose of Elizabeth, she was careful to dissemble her sentiments. She however declared to the English resident in strong terms her disapprobation of this alliance, which could bring with it no advantage sufficient to justify such a neglect of her dignity.

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* Dr. Robertson, at this period of his History of Scotland, after giving Elizabeth just praise for her sagacity in the choice of her ministers, whom she selected (he observes) "for their knowledge, their prudence, and their capacity for business," adds: "whereas beauty and gracefulness of person, polished manners and courtly address, were the accomplishments on which she bestowed her favour. In the one case she acted with the wisdom of a queen, in the other she discovered the weakness of a woman." Favour undoubtedly, as the word implies, is distinct from esteem. The latter is the offspring of judgment, the former of taste and feeling. Nor is it peculiar to *woman* to be dazzled by the qualities enumerated by the grave historian. When do *men*, it may be asked, where their taste and passions are concerned, turn from personal graces and captivating manners, to distinguish the endowments of the mind, or recompense the virtues of the heart?

Elizabeth, it may be presumed, was scarcely in earnest in the proposition she had made; it was not her wish to persuade but to amuse Mary, and gain time. By her power over Leicester, she might have been enabled to protract the negociation at pleasure; and, by keeping her rival unmarried, have rendered the prospect of her succession less desirable to the English. Nor durst Leicester, whatever might be his wishes or his feelings, venture to take any measures to facilitate his success. Under such circumstances, it was not probable that the treaty could have a favourable issue. The two queens continued to dissemble; Elizabeth to press a marriage which she wished not to take place, and Mary, though she secretly cherished other views, to forbear expressing a positive rejection.

Henry Stewart, lord Darnly, eldest son of the earl of Lennox, was the person to whom the queen of Scots began to turn her attention. Lennox, driven out of Scotland under the regency of the duke of Chatelherault, had lived in exile twenty years. Lady Margaret Douglas*, his wife, was

* She was the daughter of Margaret, eldest sister to Henry VIII. by the earl of Angus, whom Margaret married after the death of her husband James IV.

the most dangerous rival of Mary in her claim to the English succession. Lady Lennox, though the child of a second marriage, was one degree nearer than the queen of Scots to the royal blood of England, in which she was born. By an English law, which respects private inheritances, it is decreed that, "whoever is not born in England, or at least of parents who, at the time of his birth, were in the obedience of the king of England, cannot enjoy any inheritance in the kingdom." This maxim Hales, an English lawyer, had endeavoured to apply to the right of succession to the crown. If Darnly should contract an alliance with any of the powerful families of England, or should make a public profession of the protestant religion, these arguments might prove fatal to the pretensions of a foreigner and a papist.

Aware of this, Mary had early sought to cultivate a friendly correspondence with the family of Lennox. Both the earl and lady Margaret had, in 1562, been taken into custody by the orders of Elizabeth, on account of their holding a secret correspondence with the Scottish queen. From the time that Mary perceived the difficulties which opposed her marriage with a foreign prince, she had drawn this connection still closer, and even invited the earl to return into Scotland. A transaction of such importance did not escape the no-

tice of Elizabeth, who, however, chose not to interrupt a negociation which entirely accorded with her views. Gratified to observe her rival stoop to the thoughts of espousing a subject, the situation of Darnly was not calculated to excite either her jealousy or her fears. The estate of his father lay in England, by means of which Elizabeth hoped to keep the treaty in her own hands, and to act over the same artifices and delays which she had planned in her recommendation of Leicester.

No sooner did Lennox apply to the English court for permission of passing into Scotland, under pretence of prosecuting the claim of his wife upon the earldom of Angus, than he obtained his desire; and, with a licence to depart, letters, warmly recommending him to the favour and protection of Mary. At the same time Elizabeth, with her usual policy, to perplex and entangle, warned the queen of Scots that this indulgence to Lennox, by reviving the animosity between him and the house of Hamilton, might prove fatal to herself. In consequence of this admonition, which gave offence to Mary, and drew from her an angry reply, the correspondence between the two queens suffered a total though temporary interruption. The interest of Mary, however, in-

duced her to seek a reconciliation, nor did Elizabeth oppose many difficulties to a renewal of that appearance of amity, and those cordial but deceitful professions of regard, which equally suited the purposes of both.

Lennox was, on his arrival in Scotland, received by the queen with distinguished marks of regard, and treated with a familiarity that could not fail to encourage the most aspiring hopes. The rumour of a marriage between his son and the queen spread through the nation, which already began to view him as the father of their future sovereign. The duke of Chatelherault, who beheld in Lennox the hereditary enemy of the house of Hamilton, saw in his aggrandisement his own ruin, with that of his friends. All the authority and influence of the queen were necessary to prevent their coming to a rupture, and to accommodate their mutual differences. The Douglases dreaded no less the return of Lennox, lest he should wrest from their hands the earldom of Angus, to which he laid claim in the right of his wife; but Mary, unwilling to irritate these powerful families, prevailed on lady Lennox to wave her rights.

After these preliminary steps, she ventured to summon a parliament, December, 1564, in which the act of forfeiture against Lennox being repealed, he was publicly restored to his honours and

estates. In the assemblies of the church which took place this year, the same complaints were made of the increase of idolatry, while the poverty of the clergy was urged anew. To these remonstrances the queen returned a more satisfactory reply than the protestants had hitherto been able to obtain, a concession which however failed to quiet their suspicions. Mary had not once consented to listen to the doctrines of the reformed teachers, nor was her attachment to her faith in any respect shaken: she had repeatedly assured her friends on the continent of her design to re-establish the catholic church; and had assiduously avoided to ratify the acts of parliament in favour of the reformation. Even the protection which she had afforded to the protestants was temporary, and declared by proclamation to be of force only "till she should take some final order in the matter of religion." To these circumstances it cannot be supposed that the preachers were inattentive; their fears were also magnified by the coldness of their principal leaders, who devoted themselves to the court. The language in which these apprehensions were expressed by the people, was regarded by the queen as disrespectful and insolent. In a meeting of the general assembly, Knox was accused by Maitland of

teaching seditious doctrines, respecting the rights of the people to resist such monarchs as trespassed against the duties they owed to the nation. To this charge Knox, delighting in bold sentiments, and superior to fear, replied with equal ability and courage.

Two years had passed away in fruitless negociations for the marriage of the queen: the duplicity of Elizabeth was during this interval made manifest to her rival, who determined at length to compel her to be explicit. With this view she intimated to Randolph, that on condition that her right of succession should be acknowledged in England, she was ready to accept the hand of Leicester, a measure which she judged truly was foreign to the real purposes of the English queen. This declaration of Mary gave some perplexity to Elizabeth, who studied how to evade her former propositions. To the ambitious hopes of lord Darnly, the son of Lennox, she was no stranger; nor was she ignorant of the sentiments of Mary in his favour. It was in her power to detain him in London; but, in the present conjuncture of affairs, she conceived his journey to Scotland would prove more advantageous to her views: she doubted not to be able to govern the motions of Darnly, and once more to involve Mary in the intricacies of negociation. Guided by these mo-

tives, she yielded to the solicitations of lady Lennox, and permitted her son to rejoin his parents.

Darnly, at this time in the bloom of youth, was distinguished for the beauty and grace of his person, and accomplished in every elegant art. The impression which on their first interview he made on the susceptible heart of the queen, was but too apparent. The court, flattering the predilection of their royal mistress, exerted themselves to amuse their illustrious guest. The qualifications of Darnly, altogether superficial, appeared on these occasions to peculiar advantage. Led captive by her senses and her imagination, the heart of Mary became insensibly enthralled; before this new inclination, so soft and flattering, political considerations faded away.

The conduct of Elizabeth contributed to complete the triumph of Darnly. To the message of Mary respecting her willingness to accept the hand of Leicester on the conditions proposed, she replied in such terms as evidently displayed her real purposes. Should an union take place between the Scottish queen and Leicester, she promised to advance him to great honours; but with respect to the English succession, she declared her resolution to suffer no enquiry to be

made, nor to permit its recognition, till she had herself wholly renounced any idea of marriage. The high spirit of Mary could not brook with patience this avowal of the artifices with which she had been treated. Bursting into a flood of indignant tears, she expressed with bitterness her sense of the craft which had been employed to deceive her. Resentment thus combined with tenderness to determine her to pursue her own inclinations: in the man she loved she perceived no defects: by the stimulus of two powerful passions, the preparations for the nuptials were accelerated.

The consanguinity between Darnly and the queen rendered it necessary to obtain from Rome a dispensation for their marriage. A negociation for this purpose was early set on foot. Mary also busied herself in procuring the consent of the French king and his mother; who were not averse to a connection which delivered them from their apprehensions of her espousing one of the Austrian princes, or of her forming with Elizabeth a still closer union. Darnly's profession of the catholic religion likewise accorded with the schemes of the court of France.

While Mary was reconciling foreign courts to their marriage, Darnly and his father, by their imprudent conduct, raised up enemies at home.

The understanding of Lennox was too weak to restrain his passions; nor, with more impetuosity of temper, were the talents of the son superior to those of his father. To incapacity Darnly added that arrogance which the conciousness of external advantages, unaccompanied by more valuable qualities, seldom fails to inspire. Intoxicated with his good fortune, he already assumed imperial airs. His invitation into Scotland had been with the consent, and probably with the advice, of Murray and his party; yet no sooner had he obtained the affection of the queen, than he entered into cabals with the enemies of Murray, against whose favour with Mary, and the bounties she had bestowed upon him, he imprudently let fall some rash expressions. But the friendship he cultivated with David Rizzio, the Italian, contributed more than all to increase the disgust of the nobles. This man, the son of a musician of Turin, having accompanied the Piedmontese embassador into Scotland, procured through his musical skill and powers admission into the family of the queen, where, by his pleasant and insinuating manners, he quickly gained her favour. The French secretary of Mary happening about this time to return to his native country, Rizzio was preferred to his office, in which he soon began

to acquire weight and importance. The courtiers, observing his growing favour with the queen, assiduously sought his patronage: his recommendations seldom failed of success, till he at length began to be considered not merely as a favourite but as a minister of state. Elated with his elevation, he studied to display the extent of his consequence, and betrayed in his behaviour that assumption and arrogance which unmerited prosperity never fails to confer on an ignoble and vulgar mind. He affected to talk familiarly with the queen in public, and to emulate in his dress and equipage the first noblemen in the land. It was not without indignation that the nobles beheld his power, nor could they always forbear, even in the royal presence, to testify their contempt and disdain. His religion afforded to them an additional source of aversion and distrust; they beheld in him an enemy to the protestant cause, and suspected him of intrigues with the court of Rome.

The vanity and inexperience of Darnly rendered him but too accessible to the arts of Rizzio, whose influence with the queen was employed in his behalf. But the advantages which Darnly received from the friendship of the Italian, were more than counterbalanced by the disgrace to which it exposed him.

Mary, notwithstanding her partiality for Darnly,

by her reserve imposed on the English resident, who gave repeated assurances to his court, that she had formed no designs in favour of the son of Lennox. The first news which Elizabeth received of her intentions was from Maitland, the Scots embassador, who was deputed by his mistress to solicit her consent to the marriage. Elizabeth affected on this occasion a surprise which she did not feel, and expressed in strong terms her disapprobation of a connection for which she had herself laid the train. Her displeasure was however wholly political, put on with a view of delaying the nuptials, of alarming the English party in Scotland, and sowing the seeds of discord throughout the kingdom. She believed that, amidst intestine commotions, Mary could form none of these dangerous schemes to which her ambition might prompt her, while she would herself become the umpire between the contending factions. England might thus look on in security, while the only kingdom from which it could dread annoyance was wasting its strength in civil dissensions. Under the influence of this ungenerous policy, Elizabeth appointed an embassador-extraordinary, to declare her disapprobation of the measure which Mary was about to adopt, and to exhibit a remonstrance, in proof of the sense of the nation, drawn up by her council, to the same purport. Lady Lennox, who re-

mained in England, was not long after sent a prisoner to the Tower.

On this intelligence, which reached Scotland before the arrival of the English embassador, Mary, in the first transports of her indignation, resolved upon keeping no measures with Elizabeth. She sent orders to Maitland, who accompanied the English envoy, to return instantly to London, and in her name declare to the queen, that, after having been so long amused to no purpose, and imposed on so grossly by her artifices, she had now resolved to consult her own inclination, and to ask no other consent in the choice of a husband but that of her subjects. Maitland, foreseeing the effects of so rash a message, chose rather to incur the displeasure of his mistress by disobedience, than to be the instrument of so dangerous a precipitation. Mary herself, becoming soon after sensible of her indiscretion, received the English embassador with respect; justified herself with temper; affected solicitude to conciliate Elizabeth; and even pretended, through complacence to her, to put off for some months the celebration of the nuptials. This delay however probably originated in other motives: the pope's dispensation was not arrived; nor had Mary yet obtained the consent of the nation, for which she laboured with incessant activity.

Since the return of Lennox into Scotland, the affection of the queen had been gradually estranged from Murray, whose concurrence to her marriage was however of the first importance. Darnly, Rizzio, and all the court favourites, had combined to supplant him. Murray, high spirited and incapable of brooking this unmerited disgrace, had given way to his rivals, and retired into the country. The return of the earl of Bothwell, his avowed enemy, who had been suspected of practising against his life, and who had for some time past resided abroad, compelled him to attend to his safety. In vain the queen essayed to effect between them a reconciliation: Murray insisted that Bothwell should be brought to trial; for which a day, at length, was accordingly fixed. Bothwell durst not appear in opposition to an adversary, who came to the place of trial with five thousand followers on horseback. Once more he was constrained to leave the kingdom; but, by the command of the queen, the sentence of outlawry, incurred by his non-appearance, was not pronounced.

Sensible of the power and popularity of Murray, Mary invited him back to court, where he was received with demonstrations of confidence and respect. He was at length desired by the queen

to give an example to her subjects, by subscribing a paper which contained a formal approbation of her marriage with Darnly. Various motives combined to prevent his acquiescence with this request. Darnly was his avowed and inveterate enemy: by consenting to his elevation, his power of injuring him would receive increase. The consequences which might follow a breach with Elizabeth, had also on the mind of Murray their due weight. He had always been adverse to the connection with France, and an advocate for a confederacy with England: it was by his means principally that the national system of politics had been changed; nor could he think of sacrificing to a youthful passion considerations of so much political importance, and an alliance which he felt himself bound to maintain. These objections were strengthened by religious motives: Mary, in despite of her protestant counsellors, held with foreign catholics a dangerous correspondence. She had even received a subsidy from the pope, whose protection she courted. Though Murray had endeavoured to restrain the zeal of the reformed clergy, and to represent in its most favourable light the conduct of the queen, yet he could not without alarm perceive her, by marrying a papist, cut off the only hope which remained

of her conversion. Influenced by these considerations, he declined for the present to comply with her request.

In a convention of the nobles, assembled a few days after, a greater disposition was manifested of gratifying the queen; but, as an unanimous approbation could not be obtained, another convention, in which the subject might be more fully discussed, was appointed at Perth. Mary, in the mean time, conferred upon Darnly titles of honour peculiar to the royal family. Opposition produced upon her heart its usual effects, confirmed her attachment, and increased its fervour. Darnly, whose only merit was his personal graces, became intoxicated with his triumph, and daily rendered himself more obnoxious. Impatient of contradiction or control, he attempted to stab Lord Ruthven, who happened first to inform him that Mary, to conciliate Elizabeth, had determined to delay for some time conferring upon him the title of duke of Albany. It required all the tenderness and attention of Mary to prevent him from exposing himself to hatred and contempt. In the sensibility of her own heart she found an excuse for his faults, and, in a lively imagination, those perfections which seemed to counterbalance them, and which had no real existence. Love, while it blinded her reason, ren-

dered her ingenuity more acute: solicitous to gain her subjects to her purpose, she won the nobles by her address, her bounty, and her promises. To some she gave new titles of honour, and on some she bestowed offices and lands. Nor did she disdain on this occasion, where her affections were interested, to court the favour of the protestant clergy. Having invited to Stirling three of their superintendants, she declared her resolution to protect their religion, and even consented to be present at a conference upon the points in dispute between them and the papists; while she expressed a desire to hear such of their preachers as were most distinguished for temper and moderation. By these arts of conciliation she gained upon the people, who are disposed to view with indulgence the condescension of their monarchs.

Elizabeth, of whom Murray and his associates were the dupes, continued to talk in a high strain of her displeasure at the intended nuptials. She treated lady Lennox with the utmost severity, wrote to Mary in strong terms, and recalled the earl of Lennox and his son to England, with denunciations of vengeance should they fail to obey the mandate. Murray and his friends were, by this conduct, persuaded of her sincerity, and encouraged to oppose the marriage. For this purpose they formed among themselves bonds of con-

federacy and mutual defence; they also secretly corresponded with the English resident, and sought to fill the nation with distrust and apprehension.

Darnly, on his side, impatient of the opposition of Murray, formed a plot to assassinate him during the meeting of the convention at Perth. Murray also and his associates conspired to seize the person of Darnly, and to carry him a prisoner to England. Both these projects were rendered abortive by the vigilance of those against whom they were formed. Murray, warned of the danger which threatened him, avoided the meditated blow by not going to Perth; while the queen, informed of the conspiracy against her lover, retired with him precipitately to the other side of the Forth. All hopes of conciliation were now at an end: the mutual enmity of the different factions became aggravated and inflamed.

Mary, on her return to Edinburgh, by proclamation, summoned her vassals to her protection, who obeyed with alacrity the mandate. For the popularity which she had acquired by her mild administration, she was principally indebted to the prudence of Murray, whose services were however obliterated in his present offence. Mary, irritated at his opposition to her inclinations, summoned him to appear before her, and to answer to the charges preferred against him. Murray and his adherents were at the same time assem-

bled at Stirling, to deliberate on the measures it would be proper for them to adopt. But the general disposition which appeared in the nation to gratify the queen on a subject so nearly concerning her, induced them, after imploring the protection of Elizabeth, to put an end to their consultations, disperse, and retire.

Thus triumphant over all her adversaries, Mary determined no longer to defer the conclusion of an event in which her heart was so deeply interested, and which had so long engrossed her attention. On the 29th of July, 1565, she gave her hand to lord Darnly in the royal chapel, where, the pope's dispensation having been previously obtained, the ceremony was performed according to the rites of the Roman church. Proclamations were issued at the same time, by which the title of king of Scots was conferred upon Darnly; while it was commanded, that all writs at law should henceforth run in the joint names of king and queen. The right of the queen to make choice of a husband without the assent of parliament was very disputable; but in raising him to be the master of her people, and conferring upon him the title and dignity of king, she certainly outstripped her authority. The consent of parliament was however obtained before Darnly ventured to assume his privileges. Mary pos-

sessed so entirely the confidence of her subjects, that these irregular proceedings, notwithstanding the clamours of the opposite faction, produced no symptoms of general discontent.

Three days after these inauspicious nuptials, Murray was again summoned to court, and on his non-appearance declared an outlaw. At the same time lord Gordon, who since the insurrection of his father had been detained a prisoner, was set at liberty; the earl of Sutherland also, who on account of the same conspiracy had fled into Flanders, was recalled to Scotland, and Bothwell permitted to return. These men, who considered Murray as the enemy to their families, and who were animated against him with implacable hatred, formed on this union of sentiment the strictest bond with the queen, over all whose councils they acquired an ascendant. The inexorable resentment of Mary against Murray was rendered apparent by this confederacy with his enemies. The malecontents, unable to make head against the forces of the crown, fled into Argyleshire; whence they supplicated the assistance of England.

Elizabeth, in the mean time, the farther to embarrass Mary, blamed anew both her choice in a husband and the precipitation with which the nuptials had been concluded. Having required

Lennox and his son, whom she still claimed as her subjects, to return to England, she interceded earnestly in behalf of Murray, whose behaviour she justified as guiltless and even laudable. Mary, mortified by a message so contemptuous towards the man of her choice, vindicated her conduct with equal force and spirit, rejected the intercession of Elizabeth for Murray, and gave symptoms of resentment that she should pretend to interfere with the internal government of her kingdom. Nor did she in the least relax the severity with which she had treated Murray and his adherents, who now, having received from England a small supply of money, appeared openly in arms, and endeavoured to raise their followers in the western counties. By the vigilance of the crown, whose military operations were concerted and executed with equal vigour and success, the insurgents were prevented from assembling any considerable bodies. Mary, to encourage her forces, marched with them, rode with loaded pistols, and endured with fortitude the hardships of the field. The troops, superior in numbers to the malecontents, and inspired by the courage of their queen with enthusiastic ardour, struck a damp to the hearts of their enemies, who dared not face them in the field; but, having dexterously passed the army, they proceeded rapidly to Edinburgh, whose citi-

zens they sought to rouse to arms. On the approach of the queen they were however forced to give way, and retreat in disorder towards the western borders.

Mary, uncertain of the route they had taken, employed her troops in securing the counties in the heart of the kingdom. Having seized the places of strength held by the insurgents, she obliged the nobles and barons whom she most distrusted to unite in an association for her defence. The country thus left in tranquillity, the queen, with an army of 18,000 men, marched in pursuit of the rebels, who, from every place where they halted, had sent her letters full of submission, and proposals towards an accommodation. These propositions were by the queen received with disdain; determined to crush the mutinous spirit of her subjects, the present opportunity she conceived was not to be rejected. The malecontents retired as she advanced; and, fleeing into England, placed themselves under the protection of the earl of Bedford, warden of the marches.

Murray wanted nothing here which the personal friendship of the earl could supply; but from Elizabeth, who, by exciting discord among the Scots, had already accomplished her purpose, he received neither consolation nor support. Ac-

cused of fomenting the troubles in Scotland, she now wished to save appearances, and justify herself with the foreign ministers. She even refused to admit to her presence Murray and Hamilton, who were appointed to confer with her, till they should consent to acknowledge, before the embassadors of France and Spain, that they had received from her no encouragement: a concession which they meanly complied with. They were afterwards allowed to reside peaceably in England, and received from Elizabeth, who renewed her intercession in their favour with the Scottish queen, a secret supply of money.

Mary, determined to follow her blow, and wholly to crush the spirit of revolt, called a parliament, that a legal sentence of forfeiture might be denounced against the banished lords, who were summoned by proclamation to appear before the assembly. The duke of Chatelherault, on his humble solicitation, obtained a pardon, though opposed by the king, and prudently retired to France.

The extraordinary charges into which the queen had been led by the vigour of her proceedings in the late commotions, joined to the expences attending her nuptials, had completely exhausted her finances: fines were in this exigence levied on the towns which were suspected

of favouring the cause of the insurgents. A tax was also imposed on the boroughs throughout the kingdom; and a sum demanded of Edinburgh by way of loan. The citizens, alarmed at this unusual exaction, endeavoured to evade it by difficulties and delays. These being construed into acts of disobedience, several individuals were committed to prison. The spirit of liberty was not to be subdued by this severity. The queen was obliged to mortgage to the city the *superiority* of the town of Leith, by which she obtained a considerable sum. The thirds of ecclesiastical benefices afforded to her another supply. The protestant clergy about this period complained bitterly of their poverty; the army probably having exhausted a part of the fund destined for their maintenance.

The assembly of the church, in their meeting this year, influenced by some of the malecontent nobles, addressed the queen in a high strain, requiring not only the entire suppression of the Romish religion throughout the kingdom, but even in the royal chapel. They demanded also, that the protestant religion should be legally established, and that the queen herself should publicly embrace it. Mary, in reply, declared, that neither her conscience nor her interest would allow of her taking such a step,

of the propriety of which she felt no conviction.

The prosperity of the queen's affairs at this period operated in favour of her religion: the earls of Lennox, Athol, and Cassils, openly attended mass; the catholics received a more avowed protection; and some of the ancient monks, by permission from the throne, preached publicly to the people.

As the time approached for the meeting of parliament, Mary deliberated with her ministers on the measures proper to be adopted with respect to the exiled nobles. While on the one hand many motives prompted her to a rigorous proceeding, urgent considerations pleaded on the other for lenity and mercy. The members of the congregation, not unmindful of their former union with Murray and his associates, supplicated the crown in their favour: Melvil, at that time possessed of the queen's confidence, joined in their solicitation. Even Rizzio, whom Murray had stooped to court, and who, having recently offended the king, was desirous of strengthening his connections, exerted his influence on the occasion. But the arguments of Throgmorton, lately the embassador of Elizabeth, in behalf of the banished nobles, proved still more availing. Throgmorton, in enmity to Cecil, the English

minister, had espoused the cause of Mary, and her title to the succession. In the present juncture of her affairs, he ventured to address to her a letter full of judicious counsels. He recommended to her to pardon the exiles, as an act the most salutary and popular, which could not fail to redound to her honour, to render her popular in England, favour her claim to the succession, and, while it re-animated their affection and zeal, restore harmony among her own subjects. These representations, added to the known judgment and attachment of Throgmorton, produced their effect on the mind of the queen. The king only remained inexorable. The courtiers observing the disposition of Mary, used all their efforts to strengthen and improve it, and at length prevailed on her to incline to their wishes. The parliament was with this view prorogued from the 4th of February to the 7th of April; while the queen employed herself in considering the form and manner in which her favour should be extended to the banished lords.

In this situation of things two envoys arrived from France, whose mission unfortunately gave a turn to affairs. The league entered into for the destruction of the protestants had been formed about this period between France and Spain, in

the celebrated interview between Charles IX. and his sister the queen of Spain; when, amidst carousals and festivals, the execrable massacre of St. Bartholomew was planned. Mary was on this occasion conjured, in the names of the French king and the cardinal of Lorraine, not to restore to her favour the leaders of the protestant party, at the very moment when the catholic princes meditated to exterminate the sect with a blow. Passionately attached to popery, and deeply imbued with its principles and prejudices, Mary could not hear of a prospect so flattering to her wishes, and remain unmoved. The submission with which she had been accustomed to listen to the counsels of her uncles the princes of Lorraine, added to her desire of securing the friendship of Charles IX. to assist her in keeping Elizabeth in awe, whose insidious conduct she justly dreaded, combined to confirm her resolution. Thus influenced, in an evil hour she joined the confederacy against the protestants, and relapsed into severity against Murray and his adherents. Fatal was the determination, and bitter the expiation: the sun of her prosperity had set for ever, and over the remainder of her life tempests lowered.

In consequence of this change in the feelings of the queen, the interval of the prorogation of parliament was shortened, and the 12th of

March appointed for its assembling. To proceed to the attainder of the rebel lords, and to take some steps towards the re-establishment of popery in Scotland, were the plans which now occupied the mind of Mary. The lords of the articles, by whom the business was to be prepared, were all devoted to the designs of the queen. The ruin of the exiles, and the overthrow of the church, appeared nearly inevitable; when, in the viscissitude of human affairs, an event took place by which new changes were produced.

It has been before observed, that to the personal graces of Darnly he owed the partiality of Mary, and his advancement to the throne. The youth and the sensibility of the queen, added to the circumstances in which he was introduced to her, will be considered by the candid as an excuse for her conduct. Darnly, not less vain and conceited than weak and inexperienced, attributed his elevation wholly to his extraordinary merits. The gentleness, good sense, and tenderness of Mary, failed to meliorate his ungovernable temper; nor could all her attention, in placing about him persons capable of directing his conduct, preserve him from acts of rashness and indiscretion. Abandoning himself to pleasure and the vices of youth, he became gradually careless and indifferent to-

wards the queen, whose disappointment and mortification were in proportion to the fervour of her former sentiments. Their domestic chagrins, which were increased by the headstrong ambition of Darnly, became soon apparent to those who were around them. Insatiable of honours, unsatisfied with the title of royalty, and with a share in the administration of the states, he demanded, with arrogance and importunity, the crown matrimonial. In vain Mary declared the gift, which parliament only could bestow, was beyond the limits of her power: wanting either capacity to comprehend, or moderation to admit of this plea, Darnly continued to urge his request.

In these foibles Rizzio, whom he had taken into his confidence, did not support him, by which means he incurred his displeasure. The coldness of Mary's behaviour, which his conduct had provoked, and which was so unlike the softness of their early loves, was by Darnly in his wrath attributed to the insinuations of Rizzio. The familarity and confidence with which this stranger was treated by the queen, and to which neither his merits nor his station appeared to entitle him, gave some colour to the suspicions of the king. His haughty and impetuous spirit disdaining such a rival, impatient of opposition, and restrained by no principle, urged him to rid him-

self of whatever annoyed him, without being scrupulous respecting the means.

Other persons also, and from other motives, conspired against the favour and life of Rizzio: Morton, Ruthven, Lindsay, and Maitland, whom a strict union had formerly united with Murray, though in the late insurrection they had thought proper to desert him. These noblemen, connected with the family of Darnly, had approved of the queen's marriage, with the hope, under a king of their own blood, of being entrusted with the management of affairs. But the headstrong temper of Darnly, which rendered him inaccessible to advice, frustrated this expectation: while Mary, distrustful of men who had so long been connected with her enemies, gave herself up to counsellors who better knew how to flatter her inclinations. Thus circumstanced, the restoration of Murray appeared to these noblemen the only event by which their consequence could be restored. The rigour with which the exiles had been treated they imputed to the arts of Rizzio; who, after having engaged to aid Murray with his influence, had, all at once, prompted by secret motives, which doubtless better accorded with his interest, appeared among those most active to complete his ruin. Roused

by this duplicity and officiousness to vengeance, the conspirators, in the barbarous temper of the age, lost sight of justice and the conduct due to their own characters and dignity.

While these ideas were in agitation, the king communicated to Ruthven his designs against Rizzio, imploring his assistance and that of his friends. The advantages of such an associate, which might give to their scheme a new colouring, were instantly perceived by the confederates. Their own private views were now sunk in the pretence of obedience to the king; from whose interference they despaired not of obtaining, as the price of their compliance with his will, security for the protestant religion, and the return of their exiled friends. Yet, weighing the fickle character of Henry, they determined to proceed with caution; and to take care in the mean time not to suffer his resentment to cool. Morton, who excelled in the arts of intrigue and address, charged himself with the management of the affair. Availing himself of the ruling passion of Henry to obtain the matrimonial crown, he represented the credit of Rizzio with the queen as the only obstacle to his wishes. This favourite, he said, however unworthy, alone possessed her confidence, while, through complacence to him, her nobles, and even her husband, were excluded

from any participation of her secret counsels. To these specious charges he added others, under pretence of a political confidence and zeal for the service of the king, still more delicate, dark, and unjustifiable.

Worked upon by these insidious intimations, the passions of Henry were roused to madness: furious and impatient, he deprecated delay, and even threatened to strike with his own hand the meditated blow. Articles of mutual security being at length agreed upon, the king pledged himself to prevent the attainder of Murray and his associates, to consent to their return to Scotland, to obtain a remission of their crime, and to the utmost of his power to support the established religion of the kingdom. The nobles, on their part, undertook to procure for Henry the crown matrimonial, to secure his right of succession in case of the queen's demise, and to defend that right to the utmost against all who should dare to oppose it. The king also promised to acknowledge himself the author of the present enterprise, and to protect, whatever might ensue in its execution, those who were embarked with him. It remained now only to settle the plan, and to make choice of the actors for this abominable tragedy. In this appointment the barbarous man-

ners of the times are apparent: the scene fixed for the murder was the bed-chamber of the queen, notwithstanding that she was advanced to the sixth month of her pregnancy; and though it would have been easy to have seized Rizzio in any other place. This appears to have been a refinement of the king's jealousy and cruelty. The director of this savage and lawless enterprise was the earl of Morton, lord high-chancellor of the kingdom, and the guardian of its laws. To the lord Ruthven, who had been three months confined to his bed by a dangerous distemper, and who was still so feeble as to be scarce able to sustain the weight of his armour, or to walk without support, the executive part was entrusted.

On the 9th of March, 1566, Morton, attended by an hundred and sixty men, entered the court of the palace, and, without resistance or noise, seized all its gates. The queen was at supper with the countess of Argyll, Rizzio, and a few domestics, when the king entered suddenly by a private passage. Behind him stood Ruthven, completely armed, while the fallen muscles, the sallow and ghastly hue of sickness, gave to his countenance additional horror. These were followed by several of their most trusty accomplices. The little party of the queen were seized with

consternation at such an apparition. Rizzio, whose spirits presaged the fate prepared for him, rose in terror and retired behind Mary, in the vain hope of finding protection from her presence. Armed men now rushed into the chamber; encouraged by their presence, Ruthven drew his dagger, and, with a ferocious mien and accent, commanded the unhappy victim to quit a place which he had occupied too long, and of which he was wholly unworthy. The tears, the entreaties, and the threats of Mary, proved alike fruitless to save her favourite. The conspirators had proceeded too far to recede. Rizzio was forcibly torn from the queen, about whom he clung, and dragged to the next apartment, where the fury of his enemies put an end to his existence by piercing his body with fifty-six wounds.

Bothwell, Huntly, and Athol, with the other confidents of the queen, who lodged in the palace, were filled with terror at the uproar and confusion, dreading to be involved in the same catastrophe: but the conspirators probably durst not thus shed the noblest blood in the kingdom: some of them were dismissed, and others suffered to escape.

Morton and his associates kept possession of the palace, in which they guarded the queen with

the utmost care. A proclamation was in the mean time published by the king, prohibiting the parliament to meet on the day appointed; while measures were taken to keep the city tranquil. Murray and the banished lords, informed of what had passed, hastened to Edinburgh, where they arrived the evening succeeding to the affray; and were graciously received both by the king and queen. Mary hoped to prevail on Murray, by gentle treatment, to take part with her against the assassins; whose insult to her authority, to her feelings, and to her person, rendered the offences of the exiled lords light in the comparative scale. Gratitude however constrained Murray to labour for the safety of men who had hazarded their lives on his account. Mary, whose person was constrained, and to whom the liberty of acting was denied, was compelled by persuasions, which she had no choice to resist, to admit to her presence Morton and Ruthven; and to grant them a promise of pardon in whatever terms they should think it necessary to prescribe for her.

Astonished at the success of his own enterprise, the king remained uncertain what measures to pursue; an irresolution of which the queen failed not to avail herself. Conscious of his unjustifiable conduct, and of the insult he had offered to a woman who had raised him to the

throne, Henry suffered himself to yield to the insinuations of his wife, who used all her address to separate him from his associates. Having prevailed on him to dismiss the guards which the conspirators had set on her person, she found little difficulty in persuading him to escape with her. Attended by three persons only, they fled to Dunbar. The plan having been previously communicated to Huntly and Bothwell, they, with several other nobles, quickly joined the fugitives. Bothwell's estate laying near Dunbar, his followers crowded to their chief, and soon enabled Mary to set her enemies at defiance.

The conspirators were, by what had happened, filled with just alarm. It plainly appeared to them by the conduct of the queen, that the promise she had granted them of pardon was intended merely to amuse them, and to gain time. Having presumed to remind her of her engagement, and to demand its fulfilment, their messenger was detained a prisoner; while Mary, at the head of eight thousand men, advanced, threatening resentment and vengeance, towards the gates of Edinburgh. Murray and his associates were by her address separated from the conspirators: aware of the danger which would attend their union, she intimated her willingness to receive the former into her favour; while to the latter she

declared herself inexorable. The conspirators thus deprived of resource, fled precipitately to Newcastle, the place which the exiled lords had but recently quitted. Basely deserted by the king, who denied by public proclamation his concurrence with their enterprise, and ungenerously abandoned by Murray and his friends, Morton found himself compelled to fly his country, to resign his offices, and forfeit his fortunes, which were among the most opulent of the kingdom.

On her return to Edinburgh, Mary commenced, with the utmost rigour of the law, a prosecution against the assassins of her favourite. Yet, to the praise of her clemency, it ought to be observed, that two persons only, and those of inferior rank, suffered for the crime.

The tenderness of Mary, which for a time concealed the weaknesses and defects of her husband's character, had in the late transaction received its death-wound. His jealousy of Rizzio, by which he had degraded her; his cruel vengeance, and little consideration in its execution for the delicate and precarious situation of her health; his subsequent weakness, proclamation of innocence, and even desertion of his associates, inspired her with a just aversion and contempt. The power which her affection and generosity had conferred upon him he had employed only to

outrage and insult her. To their former confidence and tenderness, coldness and distrust succeeded. The favours of Mary no longer passed through the hands of the king, whose perfidy and ferocity, whose weakness and levity, rendered him, when unsupported by her attachment, despised by the nobles and neglected by the court. The people also partook of the general sentiment, scandalised by the drunkenness and debaucheries of Henry, whose licentiousness exceeded the irregularities of youth. His indecent and provoking behaviour frequently drew tears, both in public and private, from the eyes of the queen; while her aversion and disgust received daily aggravation. Often absent from court, he appeared there without splendour, and was entrusted with no power. Contemned alike by all parties, he was left alone, solitary and deserted.

The heart of Mary, thus disappointed in its attachment, wanted an object: to her social and susceptible temper, affection and confidence seemed almost indispensable. James Hepburn, earl of Bothwell, observing the sensibility of the queen, and her forlorn and delicate situation, improved it to his advantage, and gained over her mind a fatal ascendancy. At the head of one of the most ancient and powerful families in the kingdom, daring in his ambition, and bold in

his expedients, he had, previous to the succession of Mary, though an avowed protestant, adhered to the French interest against the congregation, whose success had obliged him to retire to France. He had been at that time taken into the service of the queen, with whom he remained till her return to Scotland; and to whose cause, amidst the inconstancy of faction, he had steadily continued to adhere. When the conduct of Murray, in regard to her marriage, had given offence to the queen, she recalled Bothwell to Scotland, and confided the support of her authority to his abilities and zeal. Of the recovery of her liberty from the murderers of Rizzio, Bothwell had been the principal instrument; on which occasion his services, equally active and successful, had made on her gratitude a deep impression. She had since showered on him marks of her bounty and favour, raised him to offices of trust and importance, and consulted him on every occasion. By his complacence and assiduities, he had strengthened her predilection in his favour; and gradually smoothed the way for the accomplishment of a project which flattered his daring ambition, and which circumstances had suggested to his mind,

As the hour of the queen's delivery approached, it was deemed imprudent to expose

her, in so delicate a situation, to the alarms she might suffer from a factious people, while remaining in a palace which was but slightly guarded. She was therefore advised by her privy council to remove to the castle of Edinburgh, the strongest fortress in the kingdom. To render herself yet more secure, Mary laboured to extinguish the feuds which divided her principal nobility, whom repeated injuries had mutually exasperated. Murray and Argyll, Huntly and Bothwell, were at length reconciled by her authority and influence, and induced to promise to bury their discords in oblivion. On this condition, and on this only, Murray she declared should be received again into favour.

On the 19th of June, 1566, the queen gave birth to a son; an event more fortunate to the nation than to his unhappy mother, whose evil destiny received aggravation from a circumstance which appeared so flattering to her hopes. Melvil was dispatched to London to acquaint Elizabeth with the delivery of the queen, and to invite her to stand god-mother to the new-born prince, whose baptism was to be celebrated with magnificence and splendour. Invitations were also sent at the same time to the French king, and to the duke of Savoy.

The birth of her son appeared to make no dif-

ference in the sentiments of Mary towards the father of her child; whom she continued, on her recovery, to treat with neglect. The outrages which she had suffered from him were ever present to her mind; the gaiety and vivacity of her temper was no more; while she gradually sunk into pensive melancholy. The nobles in their treatment of Henry followed the example of the queen; whose disgust towards her husband became daily more apparent. The French embassador laboured in vain to effect between them a reconciliation: love once extinguished can scarcely be revived.

A growing attachment to Bothwell alienated, it is probable, still farther, the heart of Mary from the ill-fated Darnly; who, accustomed to flattery and command, could ill brook the reverse of his fortunes. Universally hated and contemned, he perceived no means of forming a party, or of re-establishing his power. Deserted by his own country, he addressed himself to the pope, and to the kings of France and Spain, mingling with professions of zeal for the catholic church, bitter reproaches and complaints against the queen, whom he accused of neglecting the interests of her religion. He soon after formed the resolution of abandoning the scene of his humiliation; and seeking in foreign parts concealment for his

disgrace, or protection and succour from the catholic princes. This project he imparted in confidence to his father, the earl of Lennox, and to the French embassador; who both of them endeavoured to dissuade him from his design. The former, who appears also to have been seldom at court, and to have lost with his son the favour of the queen, communicated to her by letter the intention of her husband. The very day on which she received this intelligence, Henry, who had refused to accompany her from Stirling to Edinburgh, thought fit to come to court, where his conduct was more than usually wayward and capricious. He scrupled to enter the palace unless certain lords who were in waiting were dismissed; Mary met him herself at the gates, and persuaded him to suffer her to lead him to her apartment. She there endeavoured to draw from him the reasons of the resolution he had taken, and to divert him from putting it in execution. To her entreaties and remonstrances he preserved an inflexible silence. The next day, by the direction of the queen, the council expostulated with him on the same subject. He still remained sullen and silent, nor deigned to enter with them into any explanation. Turning towards the queen as he left her apartment, he told her she should not see his face again for a

long time. He wrote to her a few days afterwards, complaining that she no longer treated him with any confidence; that she had deprived him of all power; and that the nobles, after her example, behaved towards him with open neglect; that thus he was compelled to appear in every place without the dignity and splendour of a king.

The intended flight of her husband, which would have spread through Europe their domestic quarrels and differences, was peculiarly mortifying to Mary. Nor was she free from apprehension, that compassion for his apparent ill-treatment and exiled state might excite in the minds of the princes on the continent prejudices unfavourable and disadvantageous towards herself: under these anxieties, she caused a narrative of all that had past to be drawn up by the privy-council, and transmitted to the king of France. This memoir was of course conceived in terms the most favourable for the character of the queen, which it justified with ability and address.

The licentiousness of the borderers, about this period, obliged Mary to hold a court of justice at Jedburgh, and to summon the inhabitants of the adjacent counties to attend their sovereign in arms. The most important office in the kingdom, that of lieutenant-warden of all the marches,

which had usually been divided into three distinct governments, was bestowed, by the favour of the queen, on Bothwell alone. To display his courage and activity in the discharge of this trust, he attempted to seize a gang of banditti, who, lurking among the marshes of Liddersdale, infested the country round. By one of these desperate outlaws he was wounded in several places, and carried from the fray by his followers to Hermitage-castle. On being informed of this circumstance, Mary, with a precipitation that betrayed the interest she took in his safety, hastened to see him, slightly attended: but finding that his wounds were accompanied by no dangerous symptoms, and repenting probably of this public manifestation of her sentiments, she returned to Jedburgh on the same day. The fatigue of this journey, added to the perturbation of her spirits, brought on a fever, and her life was despaired of for some days. During the continuance of her illness, the king, who resided near Stirling, came not once to visit her; and when, after her recovery, he thought fit to appear, the coldness of his reception gave him but little encouragement to stay. Mary, on the restoration of her strength, returned to Dunbar along the eastern borders of the kingdom.

The transactions in England here attracted her

attention. Elizabeth, notwithstanding her professions and promises, encouraged Morton and his associates to remain in her kingdom: Mary also afforded her protection to several English fugitives. While both queens, with mutual jealousy and distrust, secretly endeavoured to disturb the administration of each other, Melvil, the Scottish embassador, contrived by his intrigues to excite a spirit in the English parliament, which threatened the domestic tranquillity of Elizabeth, and which it required all her address and vigour to allay. A severe illness, from which her recovery had appeared doubtful, alarmed the nation respecting the uncertainty of the succession. The claim of the Scottish queen was sufficiently apparent; but its acknowledgment was attended with many dangers. By refusing to ratify the treaty of Edinburgh, Mary had plainly manifested her ambitious purposes. Her present title had many partisans, whose number had been increased by her secret negociations. By the catholics her succession was unanimously desired; the gentleness of her administration had also removed in some measure the prejudices of the protestants. The union of the two kingdoms, to which the birth of the prince gave a prospect of perpetuity, was to all thinking men a desirable object. An act of parliament, recognising the rights of the

queen of Scots, would have been to her party a signal to arms; nor could all the prudence and popularity of Elizabeth have prevented her throne from being shaken to its foundation: while the present unsettled state of the succession, by leaving much in her power, held in awe the ambition of her rival, and checked the projects of those who espoused her cause.

Mary, informed by her embassador of all that was passing, endeavoured to cultivate the dispositions which appeared in her favour. In a letter to the privy-counsellors of England, she attributed wholly to their good offices the friendship of Elizabeth, of which she expressed a grateful sense. She also declared her resolution to live in amity with England, without urging her claim upon the crown farther than should be agreeable to the queen. Yet, as her right of succession was undoubted, she hoped it would be candidly examined, and judged of with equal impartiality. To these letters, composed with much address, she gave the appearance of a declaration of her own gratitude and that of her people towards the queen of England. This extraordinary correspondence, in which the Scottish nobles joined, between one prince and the privy-council of another, appeared evidently intended to encourage the spirit already displayed by the English, nor was it otherwise

understood by Elizabeth. The circumstances which ensued, and the misconduct of her rival, fortunately for the English queen put an end to these manœuvres.

The solicitude of Mary to promote the interest of her religion, however stifled for a time by political prudence, was never wholly extinguished. About this time (1566), encouraged by the combination of the catholic princes, she ventured upon bolder measures. The re-establishment of the Romish faith was her darling passion; which she pursued with cautious measures, but with persevering zeal. Having corresponded secretly with the court of Rome, she now determined to admit his nuncio to enter publicly into her dominions. Cardinal Laurea, bishop of Mondovi, was the person on whom this office was conferred by Pius V. who sent by him to the queen a present of twenty thousand crowns. The papal court was not accustomed to open its treasures upon chimerical or distant views. The business of the nuncio in Scotland was to reconcile the kingdom to the papal church. Mary herself seems thus to have understood it, when, in answer to a letter received from the pope, after expressing her sense of his paternal liberality, she promises to use all her efforts towards the re-establishment and propagation of the catholic faith:

also, that she would receive the nuncio with all possible demonstrations of respect; and concur in all his designs towards promoting the honour of God, and restoring peace to the kingdom: that she would celebrate the baptism of her son according to the Romish ritual, in the hope that her subjects would be taught by this example to reverence the sacraments of the church, which they had so long contemned: and that she would be careful to instil into the prince the principles of a sincere attachment to the catholic faith.

The nuncio, already arrived in Paris, had sent over his attendants with a part of the money; when Mary, influenced by the circumstances of the times, contrived to defer a little longer his visit. The queen of England was preparing, on account of the baptism of the prince, to send into Scotland a magnificent embassy: on such an occasion, and at such a juncture, it would have been impolitic to offend her by the presence of the pope's envoy. The troubles into which the kingdom was afterwards plunged, threw a still greater obstacle in the way of his mission.

While secretly negociating for the subversion of the reformed church, Mary scrupled not to employ her authority for the better maintenance of its ministers; for which purpose several proclamations and acts of council were issued. This

duplicity belongs to the system of courts, in whose code of morals integrity has no place.

The continental embassadors being not yet arrived, the baptism of the prince was from time to time deferred. Mary, in the mean while, retired to Craigmillar; a retreat which suited the disposition of her mind. Her aversion towards her husband had become altogether incurable; while a deep melancholy had seized upon her heart. The ingratitude and obstinacy of the king, and the levity and imprudence of her choice, covered her at once with humiliation and grief. The sensibility of her temper, and the strength of her feelings, aggravated the disappointments she had experienced, and rendered them almost intolerable. Torn by contending passions, and hopeless of relief, she sickened at existence, and wished for death as a refuge from despair.

Murray and Maitland having observed the dejection of the queen, sought to avail themselves of it for the advantage of the murderers of Rizzio, against whom her resentment had continued unabated. Her inclination to be separated from her husband would, they flattered themselves, overcome her anger, and prepare the way for the return of their exiled friends. To find reasons in the behaviour of the king on which to ground a sentence of divorce was far from difficult: this

sentence they had interest to obtain, and to procure the ratification of it in parliament. As a recompence for this service, they purposed to stipulate with the queen for the pardon of Morton and his associates. Argyle, Huntly, and Bothwell, willingly acceded to the plan, and employed all their efforts to render it acceptable to Mary. But, however desirable it was to the queen to obtain a deliverance from the caprice of her husband, various motives combined to induce her to reject the measures proposed to her. Her claim on the English succession had been strengthened by the birth of her son, which had emboldened her adherents to act with greater vigour. A divorce from her husband would probably throw an imputation on the birth of the prince, which might give rise to new disputes, and put it in the power of Elizabeth to call in question his legitimacy, or at least subject it to the delays and cavils of law. These considerations determined Mary rather to endure her present sufferings than to seek to emancipate herself by so hazardous an experiment.

On the arrival of the sponsors she set out for Stirling, for the purpose of celebrating the baptism of her son. The earl of Bedford, attended by a numerous and splendid retinue, brought presents

from Elizabeth suited to her dignity, and the respect with which she affected to treat the Scottish queen. Great preparations had been made for this occasion, the magnificence of which exceeded whatever had been previously known in the kingdom. The ceremony was performed in conformity to the ritual of the Romish church. Neither Bedford nor the protestant nobles entered the interior of the chapel: the spirit of the times forbade them to witness rites which they deemed idolatrous.

The behaviour of the king on this occasion was perfectly characteristic of the caprice of his temper. He chose to reside at Stirling, where he confined himself wholly to his own apartment, in which, as every nobleman who ventured to converse with him incurred the distrust of the queen, he was left solitary and alone. This conduct, by which he exposed himself and their domestic vexations to the observation of so many foreigners, was peculiarly mortifying to Mary. She deeply felt the insult, and though, when in public, she tried to acquit herself in a manner suited to her dignity, she was frequently obliged to retire, and give vent to her tears and chagrin. Henry still persisted in his resolution of quitting the kingdom, a design which he daily threatened to execute.

The instructions of the earl of Bedford comprehended other business beside that of witnessing the baptism of the prince, business which respected the treaty of Edinburgh. Elizabeth, alarmed by the spirit which had manifested itself in parliament, and by the power and activity of the party of the Scottish queen, was willing to come to a compromise with her rival, of whom nothing was now demanded, but that she should renounce, during the life of the English queen, and those of her posterity, her title to the throne; in return for which Elizabeth engaged to take no step that might prove injurious to her claim on the succession. This equitable and reasonable proposition could not in decency be absolutely rejected. Mary however insisted that her right should be legally examined and publicly recognised; also more particularly, that the testament of Henry VIII. whereby he had excluded the descendants of his eldest sister the queen of Scotland from the place due to them in the order of succession, should be produced and considered by the English nobility. The ministers of Mary had persuaded themselves, without just grounds, that this testament, so injurious to their mistress, must be a forgery. Hence the urgency of Mary on this occasion, a compliance with which by

Elizabeth would have injured her cause, the testament being undoubtedly genuine. But it was not the intention of the queen of England to set aside the title of the house of Stuart; she merely wished for the present, from political considerations, to keep the question perplexed and undecided.

Through the solicitations of Bothwell, the conspirators against Rizzio received, a few days after the baptismal ceremony, their pardon from the queen, with permission to return to Scotland. The ambitious projects meditated by Bothwell required that he should draw aid from every quarter. By obtaining the pardon of Morton and his associates, he trusted to procure himself a faithful band of adherents.

The king still remained in his solitude at Stirling, till, impatient of his situation, and alarmed by the rumour of a design to seize his person, he thought fit to retreat abruptly, and retire to his father at Glasgow.

The protestant clergy, in two assemblies of the church, which were held during this year (1566), continued to complain with reason of the poverty in which they languished. Scanty as was the allotment for their support, they had not received any part of their dues for the preceding year. The treasury had been exhausted by the extraor-

dinary expences attending the baptismal ceremony; and the sums appropriated for the subsistence of the clergy had been diverted into other channels; it became therefore necessary to provide some other method for the relief of the church. No liberality was however shewn on this occasion: a sum which scarce equalled nine thousand pounds was deemed sufficient for the maintenance of the national church. The ecclesiastics however submitted to these personal deprivations with a true christian spirit; but, when danger threatened the doctrines they had adopted, their zeal became loud and vehement. An occasion of this kind now presented itself. Mary, among the few acts of parliament to which she had paid any regard, had confirmed the authority of the commissaries, to whom she had given instructions for directing their proceedings. From that time they had continued in the uninterrupted exercise of their functions, when on a sudden a proclamation was issued by the queen, depriving them of all authority, and restoring to the archbishop of St. Andrew's* his ancient jurisdiction. This rash measure, which had been prompted by

* A Romish ecclesiastic.

Bothwell, was a considerable step towards the re-establishment of the Romish religion, of which Mary had never lost sight. The motives which had influenced Bothwell, and which will hereafter appear, were still more criminal. The protestant clergy beheld with alarm an event which threatened their church with inevitable ruin: despairing to obtain redress from the queen, they addressed their remonstrances, full of ardour and force, to the body of the protestant nobles. The attention of the nation was however soon after turned to a still more interesting and important event.

The king, on his journey from Stirling to Glasgow, was seized with a dangerous distemper, respecting the nature of which historians are divided. A violent eruption, attended with unusual symptoms, threatened his life, and gave rise to various conjectures. By some it is asserted, that this disorder was the small-pox; by others, that it was the effect of the profligate life he had led; while a third party have attributed the symptoms to poison. After languishing for some weeks, the strength of his constitution triumphed over the malignity of the malady, and he began to recover, though by slow degrees. The neglect with which he was treated by Mary in this situation was not more pointed than that which she had

herself previously experienced from him in her illness at Jedburgh: disdaining to affect a tenderness which she no longer felt, she suffered a month to elapse, during which she amused herself with various excursions, before she thought proper to visit Glasgow. By this time the disorder had abated, and Henry, though weak and languishing, was no longer in danger.

Perhaps there is no aversion so bitter and vehement as that which succeeds to love; as there are no disappointments so agonising and acute as those in which the affections are interested. Increased strength and activity must, in every struggle of the passions, be necessarily acquired by that which finally prevails. To a virtuous and amiable mind, the sentiment of affection is too congenial and dear to be relinquished without regret: nor can it possibly give place to hatred till after repeated injuries, and a thorough conviction of the worthlessness of the object, once so fondly and tenderly cherished. The disgust of Mary for her husband had not been lightly conceived: his ingratitude, his profligacy, his weakness and brutality, had combined to destroy the illusion which, created by her imagination, had for a time misled her judgment. The foundation of esteem removed, love has but a slight

support: though it should survive indifference, neglect, and even outrage, it cannot fail to be extinguished by contempt for its object. In proportion to the sensibility of Mary was her disappointment, her humiliation, her abhorrence, and her despair. In a letter written with her own hand to her embassador in France, just before she set out for Glasgow to visit the king in his illness, she speaks of him with mingled bitterness and scorn.

Under the influence of such feelings, so recently manifested and expressed, how extraordinary then does her conduct during this interview appear! To those acquainted with the human heart, and with the irritable nature of domestic wounds, the sudden transition of sentiment by which Mary was, on her arrival at Glasgow, led to address her husband in the language of sympathy and endearment, cannot but suggest unfavourable doubts. If the weak and credulous Henry was imposed on by the marks of tenderness which she profusely lavished upon him, suspicions of artifice, justified by the stronger character of the queen, must to every other person necessarily occur. In two of the letters attributed to her, addressed to Bothwell, and said to be written on the present occasion, this scene of dissimulation is sufficiently explained.

When the situation of Mary is considered, her youth, her sensibility, her education in a relaxed and voluptuous court, it would appear but little wonderful if the address of Bothwell, and the services he had rendered her, contrasted by the incapacity and misconduct of her husband, had acquired over her mind a dangerous ascendancy. Accustomed to the gallantry of the French manners, to the vices which lurked beneath an exterior polish, to the incense of flattery, and the enchantments of pleasure, a new passion, which, while it soothed her grief and gratified her pride, promised to efface from her heart the remembrance of its former wrongs, could not have been without its powerful fascinations. Resentment might also have concurred in justifying to her own heart a breach of those engagements from which, by the conduct of the king, she might conceive herself to be freed. All the ardour of passion, and the tenderness of love, are, in the letters to Bothwell, pourtrayed in glowing colours. On the supposition that they are genuine, a fact that admits of controversy, and respecting which, it must be confessed, much on either side may be urged, the duplicity of her conduct at Glasgow is, with its motives, but too apparent.

But the over-acted tenderness of Mary appears

to have deceived no one. Daily and exaggerated accounts, which were but too readily received, assailed her ears, respecting the misconduct of the king, his folly, his caprices, and his criminal intentions. By some she was informed that it was his design to seize the person of the prince, and in his name to usurp the sovereign power. Others assured her that he had resolved immediately to leave the kingdom, and that a vessel hired for the purpose, and prepared to receive him, lay in the river Clyde. This event was particularly dreaded by the queen, whom it would have covered with dishonour in the eyes of foreign nations. The schemes of Bothwell would also have been wholly disconcerted by the flight of the king. To avert a step of this nature, it became necessary to remove Henry from his present residence, where the interest of his family might enable him with facility to execute his design. Mary on this occasion employed all her address to regain his confidence, and to induce him to remove to the neighbourhood of Edinburgh, where he might, she alleged, with convenience avail himself of medical aid, and where she could herself attend him without being separated from the prince their son. Henry, overpowered by her intreaties, suffered himself to be prevailed upon to adopt a measure so fatal in its consequences: unable to bear

the fatigue of travelling, he was removed in a litter to the capital of the kingdom.

Kirk of Field, a house belonging to the provost of a collegiate church, was prepared for the reception of the king. The situation, on a rising ground and in an open field, was recommended for the salubrity of its air. In opposition to this advantage the solitude of the place was, it must be confessed, but too favourable to the tragedy which ensued. Hither Mary caused her husband to be carried, and here she attended him with the most assiduous care. She seldom left him through the day, and, for several nights, took her repose in an apartment under the chamber in which he slept. The tenderness and confidence with which she treated him, quieted the distrust by which he had so long been haunted. While felicitating himself on this reverse of his fortunes, he beheld not the precipice on the brink of which he tottered.

On Sunday, February 9th, 1567, an hour before midnight, the queen left her patient, for the purpose of being present at a masque given at the palace. At two the ensuing morning, the city were alarmed by a sudden explosion. The house in which the king resided was blown up with gunpowder. The people ran to the place whence the shock and noise proceeded; when the dead body of Henry, with that of a servant

who slept in his room, were found, lying in an adjacent garden, without marks of violence and untouched by fire.

Thus perished Henry Stuart, lord Darnly, in his twenty-first year, a youth whom the indulgence of nature and fortune had combined to betray to his ruin. The heart which his personal accomplishments had gained he justly forfeited by his arrogance and folly. His levity, his weakness, and his licentiousness, which justified the contempt of Mary, rendered him the scorn of a people prepared to revere him as the descendant of their ancient kings. Had disease brought him to the grave, his fate had been unlamented, and his memory quickly effaced; but the cruel circumstances of his death, added to the negligence with which the murderers were pursued, have, by engaging the pity of generous minds, excited a sympathy to which he had otherwise no claim.

This execrable deed gave rise to various suspicions and conjectures, which, while they glanced at the queen from her known sentiments with regard to her husband, were, with a general consent, directed towards Bothwell. Two days after the catastrophe, a proclamation was issued from the throne offering to any person, who should discover the perpetrators of the murder, a considerable reward. Neither the power and greatness

of Bothwell, nor his favour with the queen, screened him from the indignant sentiments of the nation. Papers, accusing him of the murder, and naming his accomplices, were affixed to the most public places of the city. Pictures appeared to the same purport; and voices were heard in the middle of the night loudly charging him with that barbarous and atrocious action. Insinuations were also mingled with these accusations, which involved the queen in the guilt of her minister. This attack upon Mary attracted the notice of her council, and, by engaging them in an enquiry after the authors of these libels, diverted their attention from the murderers of the king. The solicitude of Mary to discover the persons who had delivered her from an intolerable yoke, could scarcely be very great: it was the interest of Bothwell, in whose hands was the supreme direction of affairs, to stifle and confound any evidence that might offer, and cover what had past under a veil of obscurity. Enquiries were however made, and some persons called before the council; but the examination was too negligent and loose to throw much light on the transaction.

The circumstances of the king's murder spread quickly through Europe, in which it excited universal horror. The disagreements between the queen and her husband had too long been a sub-

ject of general animadversion not to give rise, on this occasion, to opinions injurious to the honour of the former. Her friends implored her, in this delicate and critical situation, to prosecute with rigour the conspirators, as the best vindication of her own innocence. The earl of Lennox also, with incessant importunity, implored her vengeance on the murderers of his son, in whose disgrace he had been a sharer, but whose death roused him from the inactivity into which he had sunk. In a letter which he ventured to address to the queen, he pointed out what appeared to him the most effectual methods of bringing the assassins to light, and convicting them of the crime. Having urged her to prosecute the guilty with vigour and to bring them to immediate trial, he declared his suspicions of Bothwell, and those who were named as his accomplices; while he required that, from regard to decency, and to encourage those who were able to bring evidence against them, the persons charged with so atrocious a crime should be committed to custody, or at least excluded from the sovereign presence and the court.

After the burial of the king, whose body was deposited in a private but decent manner among those of his predecessors, the monarchs of Scotland, Mary had retired to Seaton, where she still

remained. On the receipt of Lennox's letter, the former part of whose demand could not be eluded, it was determined to put Bothwell on his immediate trial. But in the mean time he remained at large, was admitted into all the councils of the queen, and continued to enjoy his dignities and exercise his powers. The offices which he already possessed gave him the command of all the southern parts of the kingdom. To this was added the castle of Edinburgh, a place of too much strength for him not to covet its possession. In order to prevail on the earl of Mar to surrender it, the queen consented to put into his hands the person of the young prince, and immediately bestowed the fortress upon Bothwell.

No direct evidence of the murder had yet appeared against him; it became therefore important to hurry over the trial while only general suspicions and uncertain surmises were likely to be produced. In a meeting of the privy council, held on the 28th of March, 1567, the twelfth day of the ensuing month was appointed for the occasion. This short interval was afterwards contracted, contrary to the laws and usages of the times. Eleven days' warning were only allowed to Lennox to prepare himself for accusing his powerful adversary. The earl, whose paternal estate had, during his exile, been considerably im-

paired, was in no condition to withstand the wealth and influence of the accused; his authority over his vassals had been weakened by absence, nor was he supported by any of the existing factions. With Murray and his adherents he had an open breach; the partisans of the house of Hamilton were his hereditary and mortal enemies; Huntly was linked in a confederacy with Bothwell. Thus Lennox, in the cause of humanity and justice, to the disgrace of the nobles, stood singly and alone. In the meeting of the privy council, which gave directions respecting the time and manner of the trial, the accused was himself present; nor did the queen (a high degree of imprudence) refuse to admit him to her presence, with her former distinguished familiarity.

Lennox, distressed by the precipitation with which every thing was conducted, foreseeing the issue of the business, and dreading the perils with which he was environed, complained loudly of the injury done to him. Again he represented the impropriety of allowing Bothwell personal liberty, and his former influence over the royal councils; and again required the queen, as she regarded her own honour, to give evidence of her sincerity in the prosecution of the murderer by confining the persons suspected of its perpetration. Till such measures were adopted, he signified his

own resolution not to be present at a trial so irregular and illegal. He besought, at the same time, the interposition of Elizabeth, in order to obtain the delay he demanded. The queen of England, always pleased with a pretext for interfering with the Scottish affairs, wrote immediately to Mary, whom she advised to defer the trial, and on whom she forcibly urged the arguments of Lennox.

These representations, however, proved ineffectual: the trial took place on the day appointed, when Bothwell was attended with so formidable a train, that all ideas of punishment, even should the court have had the temerity to condemn him, must have appeared impracticable. His numerous friends and vassals had assembled according to custom, beside which a band of hired soldiers, with flying colours, paraded the streets of Edinburgh. The court of justice being held with the usual formalities, an indictment was presented against Bothwell, and Lennox called upon to make good his charge. One of his dependants, coming forward in the name of his master, excused his absence on account of the shortness of the time, which had prevented him from assembling his friends and vassals, without whose support he could not with safety or prudence oppose himself to so formidable an antagonist. For this reason he desired the proceedings might be stopped, and protested against any sentence

that should then pass, as illegal and void. Bothwell, on the other hand, insisted that the court should proceed instantly to trial. A letter written by Lennox was produced, in which he implored the queen to prosecute the murderers without delay. The objections of his emissary were overruled, and the jury, which consisted of nobles of the first rank, found Bothwell guiltless of the charge alleged against him.

No person appeared as his accuser, no witness was examined, nor any evidence produced. Under such circumstances the jury could not but acquit him; their verdict however failed to appease the murmurs of the people. Pasquinades and libels were fixed up in different places, expressive of the public sentiments. The jury, to obviate any censure against their proceedings, protested that no crime could be imputed to them in the acquittal of a man against whom no accuser had appeared, as no proof had been brought in support of the indictment. It appeared also, that the 9th, instead of the 10th of February, was mentioned in the indictment, as the day on which the murder had been committed. This inaccuracy, in a season of jealousy and distrust, tended to increase and confirm unfavourable suspicions.

Immediately after his acquittal, Bothwell himself, as if unable to rely on the judgment obtained

in his favour, offered, in compliance with an obsolete custom, to engage in single combat with any gentleman of good fame who should dare to accuse him of being an accessory to the murder of the king.

By Mary he was still treated with the same favour and distinction, while his ascendancy over her councils became daily more apparent. Lennox, conceiving himself, after what had passed, in an equivocal and perilous situation, fled precipitately from Scotland, and took refuge in England.

Two days after the trial a parliament was held, at the opening of which Bothwell was appointed to carry the sceptre before the queen. The majority of the acts passed in this assembly were calculated to strengthen his party. He obtained the ratification of all the possessions and honours which had been conferred upon him; while the strongest declarations were made by this act, of his faithful services to the crown in all times past. The surrender of the castle of Edinburgh by Mar was also confirmed. The law of attainder against Huntly was repealed, who, with his adherents, was restored to the honours and estates of his ancestors. A law was likewise passed, that pasquinades, which daily multiplied, should be instantly destroyed by any person into whose hands

they fell; on penalty of being subjected, with the authors, to a capital punishment.

The queen, in the same session, gave her assent to an act in favour of the protestants, which was attributed to the ascendancy of Bothwell over her mind. Not that her attachment to her faith was weakened, or her hopes of re-establishing it laid aside: for this purpose she had of late entered into new engagements, and taken in consequence some bold steps. Powerful motives prompted Bothwell to promote a law which could not fail of proving popular: he had acquired the detestation of the people by the crimes imputed to him: he meditated yet farther outrages: it was his interest therefore to divert the public resentment, to silence the clamours of the clergy, and to conciliate the people by obtaining for their religion a legal and unexpected security. The act itself was so favourable to the cause of the reformation, that the parliament which met the ensuing year, under different leaders, could substitute in its place nothing more explicit. It was accordingly ratified word for word.

The success of Bothwell had thus far equalled his most sanguine wishes. He had acquired the confidence of the queen; the murder of the king had produced no popular commotion; he had

been acquitted of any concern in the crime by his peers, and their decision had been in some degree ratified by parliament. Another measure remained to be taken, towards the execution of which he bent all the powers of his mind. After the dissolution of parliament, he invited to an entertainment all the nobles who had been present, filled the house with his friends and dependents, and surrounded it with armed men. To the company assembled he communicated his intention of espousing the queen, whose consent, he informed them, he had already obtained: to this marriage, which he declared was not less acceptable to Mary than honourable to himself, he demanded their approbation and assent. Huntly and Seaton, privy to his plan, promoted it with ardour and zeal. The popish ecclesiastics, devoted to the queen, were immediately won over by the declaration of her wishes. The remainder of the assembly, dreading the power of Bothwell, and aware of his influence, were willing to make a merit of yielding to a measure which they believed it would be vain to oppose. A few only, confounded and indignant, dared to express their dissent. By mingled flattery, threats, and promises, their opposition was however at length overborne: the whole assembly were prevailed on to subscribe a paper, which left on their honour

an indelible stain. This deed contained, in forcible terms, a declaration of the innocence of Bothwell, and of his services to the state. Also, should any accusation respecting the murder of the king be brought in future against their host, the subscribers bound themselves to stand by him as one man, and to risk in his defence their fortunes and lives. They likewise recommended him to the queen as a husband, as the most proper person on whom her choice could fall; and undertook, should she condescend to honour him with her favour, to promote the union, and join him with their forces against all by whom it should be opposed. Among the subscribers to this paper were men of all parties and sentiments, a motly and heterogeneous groupe, whom no common interest could be supposed to have united. In proof that the ambitious project of Bothwell was not unknown to Mary, it is alleged, that many of the persons who subscribed the paper were at the time in possession of the favour of the queen, which they afterwards continued equally to enjoy. To this it is added that Melvil, who kept up a secret correspondence with England in favour of Mary's pretensions, received a letter thence, where the rumour of what was transacting had begun to spread, which represented in strong terms the fatal consequences which would

result from a marriage with Bothwell. This letter, it is said, he put into the hands of the queen, whose confidence he enjoyed, and enforced its contents with earnestness and warmth. That Mary, disregarding these remonstrances, communicated them to Bothwell, from whose resentment Melvil was obliged to fly. Also, that Elizabeth warned Mary of the danger and infamy to which she was about to expose herself, a caution which was treated with still less regard.

Three days after the rising of parliament, the queen went from Edinburgh to Stirling, for the purpose of visiting the prince her son; an occasion which Bothwell seized for the completion of his purpose. Under pretence of an expedition against the freebooters on the borders, he assembled his followers, and, marching out of Edinburgh with a thousand horse, turned suddenly towards Linlithgow, met the queen on her return (April 24, 1567), dispersed her slender train, seized on her person, and conducted her, together with a few of her courtiers, a prisoner to his castle at Dunbar. She expressed, it is said*, neither surprise nor terrour at this violence, but

* This account, in which the historians of Mary have concurred, has been contradicted by a late publication, which will be referred to hereafter.

submitted to the outrage without struggle or apparent reluctance. An officer by whom Melvil (at that time one of her attendants) was seized, assured him that nothing was undertaken without the concurrence of the queen. According to the letters attributed to Mary, and published in her name, the plan had been concerted with her participation and advice, as a decent pretext for all that followed.

Something was still wanting for the security of Bothwell, and for his entire vindication from the charge of murdering the king. By the laws of Scotland, in a pardon obtained under the great seal, the most heinous crime was to be mentioned by name, after which a general clause was added, including *all other crimes whatsoever*. To seize the person of the sovereign was high treason: Bothwell therefore trusted, that a pardon gained for this offence would cover all his past misdemeanours.

Having got the person of the queen in his hands, he instantly commenced a suit to obtain a divorce from his wife, the lady Jane Gordon, sister to the earl of Huntly. The process was carried on at the same instant before protestant judges in the court of commissaries, and before the papists in the spiritual court of the archbishop of St. Andrew's, whose jurisdiction had been re-

stored by the queen. The pleas brought forward on the occasion were frivolous or scandalous. Authority, and not justice, prevailed; sentence of divorce was pronounced by both courts with the same unprincipled and indecent precipitation.

During this transaction Mary was detained at Dunbar, where she was treated with great outward respect. On the third of May, Bothwell, with a train of dependents, conducted her to Edinburgh, of the castle of which he was governor. This precaution was rendered necessary by the discontents of the nation. From the castle of Dunbar, which was without fortification, the queen might have been rescued with little difficulty; at Edinburgh she was secured from every attempt. One difficulty however remained to be obviated: a marriage concluded while one of the parties was held in captivity, on the supposition of unfair methods being used, was not valid in law. Mary therefore was prevailed upon to appear in the court of session (May the 12th), and, in presence of the chancellor and other judges, with several of the nobility, to declare that she was now at full liberty; and that though the traitorous Bothwell, in forcibly seizing her person, had at first excited her indignation, his respectful behaviour

since had appeased her resentment, and determined her to confer on him higher honours.

The title of duke of Orkney was accordingly bestowed upon him; and, on the 15th of the same month, his nuptials with the queen were completed. The ceremony was on the same day performed in public, with the rites of the protestant church, by Adam Bothwell, bishop of Orkney; and in private, according to the forms of the church of Rome. Craig, the minister, who was commanded to publish the bans, boldly remonstrated against the marriage: but a small number of nobles were present at the celebration, which the French embassador refused to attend. Mary, on her subsequent appearance in public, was received by the people with a sullen and disrespectful silence*, that sufficiently demonstrated

* Without entering into the controversy upon this subject, which would exceed the limits of the present work, it would be injustice to the queen of Scots wholly to omit noticing a late publication, in which the narration of this transaction wears a different aspect; and in which her character is ably defended. According to this writer (Mr. Whitaker) it appears that the murder of Darnley was originally planned and devised between Elizabeth, Cecil, Morton, and Murray; that Bothwell was their agent, to set fire to the mine; that, with a view of throwing odium upon Mary, and accomplishing her

their disapprobation of what had passed. The first care of the queen was to extenuate her conduct to the courts of England and France: her instructions to her embassadors for this purpose were drawn up by a masterly hand.

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ruin, she was forced into a marriage with Bothwell, that the charge of the murder might the more effectually rest upon her. The evidence of this plot, as it regards Murray and Morton, it must be confessed, is very strong; nor is the presumption against Elizabeth without weight. To this it is added, that, far from regarding Bothwell with the partiality attributed to her, Mary rather beheld him with dislike and disgust; that it was during her imprisonment at Dunbar that Bothwell first pretended to address her as a lover; that she rejected his proposal with indignant scorn; that, to enforce his suit, he produced the bond, recommending him to her as a husband, subscribed by the principal nobility of the kingdom; that, though convinced by this that she was betrayed and abandoned, her resolution remained unshaken; that to effect his purpose, Bothwell found himself compelled to have recourse to stupifying potions and brutal violence. That, at length, thus dishonoured, humbled, and degraded, deserted by her people, and in the power of a ruffian, upon the supposition of the validity of the bond, she suffered herself to be prevailed on to accept the faith of a man, whom she believed to be unanimously supported by her nobles. But that, afterwards, on finding the treachery practised against her, when an armed

The title of king was still withheld from Bothwell: it was however agreed, that he should put his signature, in token of consent, to all the public writs issued from the throne. With this form he possessed the substance of power: the person of the queen, whom his dependents surrounded, was in his hands: no evidence could be obtained of her without his permission; nor, excepting in his presence, or in that of his confidants, was any person allowed to converse with her. These precautions, with armed guards stationed at the doors of the royal apartments, were circumstances unprecedented in the annals of the Scottish monarchs.

It yet remained to make himself master of the person of the prince; without which he esteemed his power to be precarious. James had been committed by his mother to the care of the earl of Mar, whose loyalty and fidelity were well established. It was not likely that such a

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force appeared to vindicate her cause, she cheerfully abandoned the wretch by whom she had been thus vilely insulted and outraged; and to whose proposals compulsion only, and the deplorable state of her affairs, could have induced her for one moment to attend. The same writer, to whom the reader is referred, very successfully endeavours to shew that the letters attributed to Mary were forged by her enemies.

man should trust his charge in the hands of a person suspected of having imbrued them in the blood of his father. Bothwell laboured this point with a solicitude that redoubled the repugnance of Mar, whom neither his address nor authority could bend to a compliance.

The transactions which had passed during the last three months in Scotland were beheld by Europe with horror and detestation. The murder of the king, the impuni y with which his assassins were suffered to escape, and the marriage of the queen with the man accused of being their chief, were a series of incidents which, for their atrocity and rapid succession, were scarcely to be paralleled in the page of history. A general infamy fell upon the Scotch nation, which was regarded, from these circumstances, as a people void of decency, humanity, and honour.

The nobles, whom Bothwell had alternately beguiled and awed, were roused by this scorn from their shameless acquiescence. His abuse of the power he had usurped, his eagerness of gaining possession of the person of the prince, added to some rash expressions which he let fall on the occasion, quickened their sense of what had past. A considerable body of them assembled

at Stirling, where they associated for the defence of the infant James. Among the heads of this confederacy were Argyll, Athol, Mar, Morton, Murray of Tullibardin, Kirkaldy of Grange, and Maitland the secretary. Though remarkable for his bigoted attachment to popery, the indignation of the earl of Athol at what had passed, and his concern for the safety of the prince, united him on this occasion with the most zealous of the protestants.

The queen and Bothwell were, by the information of this league, filled with consternation. Since their marriage had not met with public opposition, they had flattered themselves that the nation would become reconciled to it by degrees. From this storm, which murmured at a distance, and which in proportion as it had been suspended had gained strength, they already presaged the most direful consequences. In some measure to prepare for the bursting of the cloud, Mary, by a proclamation (May 28th), required her subjects to assemble in arms, and to attend her husband on a day appointed. She also, at the same time, published a manifesto in answer to the reflections which had been thrown on her government, and in which she employed the strongest terms to express her concern for the safety and welfare of

the prince her son. Her proclamation was ill-obeyed, and her manifesto was received with cold incredulity.

The activity of the confederated lords proved more successful: warlike, powerful, and popular, they found little difficulty in assembling an army, which, before the queen was in a situation to oppose it, was ready to take the field. By shaking the fidelity of sir James Balfour, the deputy-governor of the castle of Edinburgh, Mary was deprived of this place of refuge, whence she might have braved the malecontents. She was therefore conducted by Bothwell to Brothnick; whence, on the appearance of lord Home with a body of his dependents, Bothwell fled precipitately to Dunbar, whither he was followed by the queen, disguised in man's apparel. The confederates, marching towards Edinburgh, entered it without opposition. Huntly having endeavoured in vain to rouse the citizens against them.

To animate the public indignation against Bothwell, the nobles published a declaration of their motives for appearing in arms, in which, after enumerating and aggravating his crimes and ambitious projects, they earnestly called upon every true Scotsman to unite in avenging the former and preventing the latter.

Bothwell, in the mean time, had collected his forces at Dunbar, where, from the number of his dependents, he soon gathered strength, and whence he ventured to advance against the confederates. The army of the nobles was not numerous; their distant friends, from the suddenness of their enterprise, had not had time to join them, neither does it appear that they were supported by the queen of England. Thus circumstanced, they could not have long remained in a body; neither durst Bothwell, on the other hand, risk a delay. His people, who, on this occasion, followed him with reluctance, served him without zeal or attachment: his only hope was in surprising his enemy, and striking a blow before the nation had time to reflect or recoil. Urged by this consideration, he proceeded forward with fatal speed.

The confederates, on the first intelligence of the approach of the queen, advanced to meet her, July 15, 1567. The royal forces were drawn up on the ground occupied by the English before the battle of Pinkie. The inequality between the two armies consisted in discipline rather than in numbers. That of the queen was composed of a multitude, assembled in haste, without courage or experience. The confederate troops were

gentlemen of rank and character, followed by their brave and trusty dependents.

The French embassador, who was present in the field, endeavoured by negociation to prevent the effusion of blood. To the confederates he represented the queen's pacific inclinations, and her willingness to pardon the offences committed against her. Morton, in reply, warmly protested, that they had not taken arms against the queen, but against the murderer of her husband: that if he were given up to justice, or banished her presence, they were ready to yield to her the obedience due from loyal and faithful subjects. To this it was added by Glencairn, that they did not come to ask pardon for offences, but to punish offenders. Convinced by these haughty answers that his mediation would be fruitless, the embassador was obliged to relinquish his purpose.

The army of the queen was advantageously posted on a rising ground. The confederates advanced to the attack slowly, but with resolution. The followers of Bothwell perceived their approach with alarm, and discovered no inclination for the engagement. The tears, the menaces, and the reproaches of Mary, to stimulate their drooping courage, proved equally vain. A few only of the immediate attendants of her husband

appeared eager for the encounter; the remainder stood irresolute, while some began to steal out of the field. The endeavours of Bothwell to inspirit them proving equally fruitless, he offered in single combat, with any one of his enemies, to decide the quarrel, and vindicate his innocence. Murray of Tullibardin, Kirkaldy of Grange, and lord Lindsay, contended for the honour of entering the lists against him; when he shrunk from his purpose, unnerved by the consciousness of guilt, or overcome by the importunity of the queen, who, by her authority, forbade the combat.

In this situation, to have risked a battle would have been madness on the part of the queen, nor was a retreat more practicable. Nothing remained but to throw herself into the hands of her subjects who were in arms against her. Having demanded an interview with Kirkaldy, a brave and generous man, he, with the consent and in the name of the leaders of his party, promised, on condition that she should dismiss Bothwell from her presence, and govern the state by the advice of her nobles, that they would return to their allegiance, and honour her as their sovereign.

Bothwell, during this parley, took his last farewel of Mary, and, attended by a few followers,

rode from the field. Thus, exactly one month after his marriage, he lost the fruit of so many hazards and crimes.

On his retiring, the queen surrendered to Kirkaldy of Grange, by whom she was conducted to the confederate armies. She was received by the leaders with apparent respect; while Morton, in the name of his associates, made lavish professions of their future loyalty and obedience. But from the common soldiers she experienced less courtesy. The most opprobrious names were poured upon her as she passed along: wherever she turned her eyes, a standard was presented to them, on which were pourtrayed the dead body of Darnley, and the young prince kneeling beside it, with the following words proceeding from his mouth—"Judge and revenge my cause, O Lord!" From this shocking spectacle she turned with horror, while she already tasted all the bitterness of her fate. Scarcely could she be prevented from sinking on the ground, as, drowned in tears, she uttered the most heart-rending complaints. In this situation she was conveyed towards Edinburgh; while, with the fond credulity of the miserable, she looked in vain for some extraordinary and unforeseen relief. Multitudes, whom zeal or curiosity had collected, assembled to gaze on their queen; who, exhausted by emotion and

fatigue, covered with dust, and disfigured by grief, was exposed to her subjects a sad and affecting spectacle. The same standard was by these unrelenting barbarians, whom no distress could move, no humiliation appease, still suspended before her, and the same brutal insults repeated with aggravation. Neither the youth, the beauty, the sex, the rank, nor the distress of the unfortunate victim, had power to soften the hearts of a ferocious multitude; or to procure for her that sympathy to which the miserable, whatever may have been their offences, have always a claim.

Having proceeded to such extremities against their sovereign, the situation of the confederated lords became delicate and critical. Many of the nobles had refused to concur in their measures, which others openly condemned. The tide of popular opinion, the principal foundation of their power, might quickly turn, and leave them without support. Influenced by these considerations, some of them proposed to treat the queen with indulgence. But if on the other hand they should allow her to resume her authority, Bothwell, for whom she had suffered so much, and to whom she had plighted her faith, might be recalled; while they had every thing to dread from the resentment of both. Under these apprehensions,

and believing themselves absolved by the unfortunate marriage of Mary, and her supposed attachment to her husband, from the engagements by which she had been induced to yield herself a prisoner, and from the allegiance which they owed to her as their queen, they carried her the ensuing evening, on their own authority, under a strong guard, to the castle of Lochleven; where, by a signed warrant, they empowered its owner to detain her a captive. William Douglass, to whom the fortress (situated in a small island in the midst of a lake) belonged, was nearly related to Morton, and had married the mother of the earl of Murray. In this place, in strict custody, with but few attendants, and exposed to the insults of a haughty unfeeling woman, who boasted of having been the lawful wife of James V., the unhappy Mary suffered all the rigours of captivity.

The confederates, after the steps they had taken, anxious to form new and stronger bonds of association, assumed the title of *lords of the secret council*, under which they arrogated to themselves the regal authority. As one of the first and most popular acts of their power, they caused the city of Edinburgh to be searched for those concerned in the murder of the king. This appearance of zeal and justice, by obliquely reflecting upon the queen, answered a double purpose. Se-

veral persons were seized, among whom captain Blackadder and three more were condemned and executed; whether with sufficient evidence, it would be difficult at present to determine.

A circumstance now occurred which has given rise to an important controversy, the examination of which would exceed the limits of the present plan. Bothwell, it is asserted by historians, left in the castle of Edinburgh a casket, in which were deposited letters and sonnets, written in the queen's own hand. Having recollected, after his precipitate retreat, this precious treasure, he sent one of his confidents to secure it for him. The messenger, on his return, was intercepted, and the casket seized by Morton. These papers, whether authentic or fabricated, were produced by the party as a justification of their own conduct, and an unequivocal proof of the guilt of the queen.

Notwithstanding their triumph, the confederates were still uneasy and anxious. It appeared to the body of the nobles both unprecedented and presumptuous, that a small number of their order should dare to dispose of the person of the sovereign, or, without the consent or concurrence of their peers, to assume the royal authority. Several of the malecontents assembled at Hamilton, to deliberate on the course it would be proper to

pursue. The confederates made advances towards a coalition, but without success. Equally fruitless was their attempt to draw them to a personal interview, through the mediation of the assembly of the church. Nothing resulted from this show of opposition; however formidable appeared the number of the malecontents, their resolutions melted away through the want of unanimity and vigour.

But danger threatened the confederates, who had thus far triumphantly proceeded, from another and more distant quarter. Elizabeth, though secretly pleased with the distress of her rival, and the distractions of the kingdom, could not behold unmoved the attack made on the regal prerogative. The person of the sovereign she conceived to be sacred; in the conduct of the confederates she beheld a dangerous example; and in the outrage suffered by Mary the common cause of princes. With these feelings and ideas, she dispatched Throgmorton into Scotland, with powers to negociate with both parties. Throgmorton was devoted to the Scottish queen, to whose liberty and reputation his instructions appeared favourable. The confederates, dreading the effects of this interference, prohibited the embassador from having access to their prisoner, while they rejected or

cluded all his propositions. They deliberated in the mean time respecting the settlement of the nation, and the future disposal of the queen.

Thus defeated, Throgmorton turned towards the nobles assembled at Hamilton; whom, with a promise of assistance, he endeavoured to incite to arm in defence of their queen. But the same disunion and inactivity pervaded their councils, while they tamely allowed an usurpation, which they wanted spirit or determination to resist. Among the confederates different opinions and projects were agitated; while some were desirous of adhering to the plan on which the confederacy was first formed, to punish the murderers of the king, dissolve the marriage of the queen, provide for the security of the prince and the church, and afterwards re-establish the queen in her rights—others, with less temper and more fiery zeal, proposed the trial, condemnation, and punishment of Mary herself, as the principal criminal in the assassination of her husband, and the conspirator against the safety of her son. The former was the system of Maitland; the latter that of the clergy, and warmly adopted by many of the laity. But the nobles either would not, or dared not, execute so sanguinary a plan. It was at length agreed, that Mary was to be persuaded or compelled to

resign the crown; the prince was to be proclaimed king; and Murray to be appointed to the government, during his minority, with the title and powers of regent. But nothing was decided respecting the disposal of the queen: it seems to have been the design of the party to detain her in perpetual captivity, and still to reserve to themselves, for the purpose of breaking her spirit, or intimidating that of her friends, the power of proceeding to greater extremities.

By the difficulties attending the practice of this plan, the confederates were not dismayed. To induce a woman, young, aspiring, high spirited, and accustomed to command, to acknowledge her own incapacity to reign, and to renounce the dignity she inherited from her birth, to become a dependent on her own subjects, to consent to her own perpetual bondage, to invest with her honours the authors of her calamities, were concessions so humiliating as scarcely to be expected. Yet such the confederates determined to demand; nor were they without the means of ensuring success. Mary had for many weeks suffered the terrors of a prison; of her deliverance there seemed but little prospect; no one had appeared as her defender or advocate; not a person in whom she could confide was admitted to her presence; even the embassadors of foreign powers

were refused access to her. Thus solitary, deserted, and distressed, her persecutors reckoned on her fears and on her sex. Lord Lindsay, the fiercest zealot of the party, was employed to communicate their plan to the queen, and to obtain from her a subscription to the papers with which he was charged. In the execution of his commission, he spared neither harshness nor brutality; certain death was offered to the unhappy victim as the alternative of her refusal. She was also, at the same time, informed by sir Robert Melvil, in the names of Athol, Maitland, and Kirkaldy, the most moderate among the confederates, that a resignation extorted by fear and under confinement, was void in law, and might be afterwards evaded. In a note secretly conveyed to her, Throgmorton suggested the same idea. Thus urged and advised, she yielded to the pressure of circumstances, and put her signature to the papers presented to her by Lindsay. By one of these papers she resigned the crown, renounced all share in the government, and consented to the coronation of the young king. By another, she appointed Murray to the regency, and vested him with the powers and privileges of the office. By a third, in case of the refusal of Murray, another nobleman was substituted in his place. Pierced with grief, and bathed in indig-

nant tears, she signed the deed of her own humiliation, and afforded to her adversaries the instrument of her abasement.

To give validity and weight to the act, the confederates, without delay, proceeded to the coronation of the prince. The ceremony was performed at Stirling, July 29, 1567, in the presence of the nobles of the party, a number of lesser barons, and a large assembly of the people. The government was from this time carried on, and all public writs issued, in the name of James VI.

The nation beheld with astonishment, and with various emotions, this extraordinary and rapid revolution. The friends of the captive queen argued with reason, that, excepting in extreme cases, where no other means remained of securing the liberty and happiness of the kingdom, the person of the monarch ought to be regarded with reverence. That even on those occasions a majority of the society ought at least to come forward and judge of the existence of such a necessity. That by no action of her reign had Mary invaded the rights or the property of her subjects; neither had she formed against the liberty and constitution of the nation any projects. For her deposition and imprisonment, suspicions and surmises could only be alleged. A queen to whom the crown had descended through a long race of

their monarchs, was thus denied the justice which the vilest criminal might claim. Since the author of her supposed misconduct was already driven from her presence, surely it would have been possible to punish the murderers of the late king, to have secured the safety of the prince, and of the protestant religion, without wresting the sceptre from the hands of their sovereign, or condemning her to waste her youth in imprisonment. Whatever might be the rights of the parliament in sanctioning so rigorous a procedure, the act of a few nobles, upon their own authority, and without the consent of the nation, could only be construed into conspiracy and rebellion.

The party of the confederates of course reasoned differently. From the attachment of Mary to Bothwell, from the powers and honours which she conferred upon him, from the glaring partiality with which his trial was conducted, and the indecent precipitation with which she made him her husband, it appeared evident, they alleged, that if she gave not to the murder of Henry her previous consent, she afterwards approved the deed. To have suffered the supreme power to remain in the hands of a man stained with so many crimes, and, in the pursuit of his ambitious purposes, capable of the most atrocious violence, would have been not less dishonourable to the

queen, than disgraceful to the nation, and injurious to the safety of the prince. If Mary had been compelled to abandon this unworthy husband, to whom she was still attached, was there not cause to apprehend, that by the restoration of her authority, they should arm her with powers to recal Bothwell, to destroy his adversaries, and to put in execution plans that would prove fatal to the liberties of the nation? By one bold action the country was delivered from all it had to dread: the measure they had adopted was not less respectful to the royal blood than expedient to the public safety. If one prince was set aside as incapable of holding the reins of government, another, on whose head the diadem was placed, was the undoubted representative of the line of their ancient monarchs.

These arguments, however hypothetical, were, as far as they respected the safety of the confederates, undoubtedly unanswerable. A great part of the nation joined in approving their conduct: the accession of the king to the throne of his ancestors was every-where proclaimed; and his authority submitted to without opposition. An association for the support of the government was formed, and signed by so many persons of weight and influence, as effectually to discourage the attempts of the malecontents.

The return of the earl of Murray about this period, added strength to the party, and gave to it a regular form. Murray had, soon after the murder of the king, retired to France, whence he had held a correspondence with the chiefs of the confederacy, and at their request he now returned. If he affected unwillingness to accept the regency, he hesitated but to gain time, while he viewed with attention the foundation of his elevation, and balanced the strength of the contending parties.

Before his resolution was fully declared, he paid a visit to Mary at Lochleven, where, with a rough uncourteous manner, he expostulated with her on her misconduct, without sparing her delicacy or her feelings, or respecting her calamitous situation. The unhappy captive was by this ungenerous and unbrotherly treatment thrown into tears and despair. Her fate wanted not aggravation; nor is it possible to regard this barbarous insult, which could produce no advantage, or answer any political purpose, without mingled sentiments of indignation and disgust. Soon after this interview, in which Murray had given a proof of his severe and unrelenting character, he accepted the office of regent, August 22, 1567, and was invested with its powers and privileges.

During these transactions, Bothwell had wan-

dered from place to place, now lurking among his vassals, and now seeking refuge with his friends. At length, cast off and abandoned by every one, excepting a few retainers not less desperate than himself, he endured all the miseries of infamy and famine. Urged by distress and want, he armed several small vessels which had accompanied him from Dunbar, and with which, attacking every ship that fell in his way, he endeavoured by piracy to subsist himself and his followers. His small fleet was afterwards scattered by vessels sent out by the confederates against him, and himself obliged to fly with a single ship towards Norway. Having here fallen in with a vessel richly laden, which he immediately attacked, the Norwegians sailed to its assistance in armed boats. Bothwell, after a desperate conflict, was, with his crew, taken prisoner, and, his person and quality being unknown, treated with the rigour due to his depredations. The discovery of his name and character saved him from the fate of his associates, who suffered an ignominious death: his destiny however proved not less severe. Ten years he languished in captivity, till, by melancholy and despair deprived of reason, unpitied and unassisted, he ended in a dungeon his wretched life. It is thus that ambition rewards her votaries! Under the influence of a strong passion, the mind

knows no repose; every principle in its progress is gradually weakened; guided by an unnatural stimulus, the imagination becomes morbid, and beholds every object through a distempered medium; a partial insanity ensues, which, if not timely checked by virtuous habits and honourable feelings, leads its unhappy victim to depravity and ruin.

To the popularity and capacity of the regent every obstacle yielded. The party of the queen, feeble, irresolute, and discouraged, were divided and scattered. They began to treat separately with Murray, while many of them acknowledged the authority of the king. Their councils were without harmony, and their actions without vigour; Elizabeth was discouraged by their weakness from affording to them any succours. The regent, availing himself of their situation, obliged them without conditions to submit to the government. Nor was he less successful in getting into his hands the places of strength. The castle of Edinburgh was surrendered to him by the deputy governor; who, as the reward of his treachery in deserting Bothwell, his patron, obtained for himself terms of great advantage. Dunbar was forced to capitulate; while some other small forts surrendered without resistance.

The nation thus tranquillised, a parliament was called, Dec. 15, 1567. To the success of

the confederates, the sanction of this assembly was only wanting. The meeting, which was numerous, was opened with solemnity, and its acts passed with unanimity. Every thing which could tend to the personal safety of the confederates, or to the security of the form of government which they had established, was granted: Mary's resignation was accepted and declared valid: the authority of the king and the election of Murray were recognised and confirmed. The imprisonment of the queen was pronounced lawful, as were also all the measures of the confederates. The letters attributed to Mary, and addressed to Bothwell, were produced, and the queen was declared accessary to the murder of the king. The acts passed in 1560, in favour of the protestant religion, were ratified; and new statutes enacted to the same purpose. Nothing was omitted that could forward the progress of the Reformation, or check what yet remained of the ancient church. But little however was done for the relief of the protestant clergy; a spirit of parsimony still appeared to prevail.

Shortly after the dissolution of parliament, four of the dependants of Bothwell were convicted for the murder of the king, and suffered death as

traitors. Many circumstances relative to the manner in which the crime was committed came to light on their trial; though, being of inferior rank, they seemed not to have been admitted into the secrets of the conspiracy.

Notwithstanding the power and success of the regent, secret murmurs against his authority still prevailed in the kingdom. By the partisans of the house of Hamilton his promotion was accounted injurious to the rights of the duke of Chatelherault, first prince of the blood. The severe and protracted sufferings of Mary began to excite sympathy. The zeal and ability of Murray, who possessed not talents of conciliation, was dreaded by the catholics, whose prejudices he disdained to soften by address: his virtues were austere, and his deportment towards his equals haughty and reserved. The deserted party of the queen began gradually to re-unite, while they were secretly encouraged by some who had hitherto zealously concurred with the confederates.

Such was the disposition of the nation, when the queen contrived, by an unforeseen circumstance, to effect her escape. Every attempt of her friends towards procuring her liberation had, by the vigilance of her keepers, been rendered abortive; when means, equally unexpected by

her adherents and her enemies, at length presented themselves. George Douglas, a youth of eighteen, the brother of her keeper, was frequently admitted to the presence of the royal captive, who employed all her address to gain him to her interest. Her beauty, the insinuation of her manners, and the distinction with which she treated him, could not fail of proving resistless to the sensibility of a youth. Nor did Mary neglect to interest his ambition by distant intimations of the most flattering nature. Having yielded to her fascinations, he drew others into the plot. On Sunday, May 2, 1568, while his brother, in whose chamber the keys were kept, sat at supper, and the rest of the family had retired to their devotions, one of the accomplices of young Douglas found means to purloin the keys, which, after having opened the gates to Mary and one of her maids, and closed them behind her, he threw into the lake. Mary ran precipitately to a boat prepared for her, and, on reaching the shore, was joyfully received by her deliverer, lord Seaton, and sir James Hamilton, who, with a few attendants, waited her coming. Instantly mounting on horseback, she rode with them, at full speed, towards Niddrie, the seat of lord Seaton, in West Lothian, and arrived there

that night without interruption or pursuit. After resting for three hours, she pursued her flight towards Hamilton, which, travelling at the same rate, she reached the next morning.

Her friends, on the first news of her escape, were roused to arms. Her court was in a few days filled by a train of great and splendid nobles, who, with their followers, formed an army of more than six thousand strong. In their presence she declared, that the deeds signed during her imprisonment, and the resignation of her crown, were extorted from her by fear. This declaration was confirmed by sir Robert Melvil. A council f the nobles and chiefs of the royal party accordingly pronounced the transactions to have been illegal, and void. An association was, at the same time, formed for the defence of her person and authority, and subscribed by nine earls, nine bishops, eighteen lords, and many gentlemen of distinction. Among these were found several who had been present at the last parliament, and signed the counter-association in defence of the king. In turbulent and factious times, such levity, whether real or apparent, is by no means uncommon.

The regent had, during these transactions, been holding a court of justice at Glasgow. From events so unexpected, and so fatal to their hopes,

his adherents received a considerable shock. Many of them were staggered; some began in secret to negociate with the queen, and some openly revolted to her party. Even the most faithful associates of Murray were divided in their opinion; while several of them counselled him to retire to Stirling. The army of the queen, already approaching, was scarcely eight miles distant; the friends and dependents of the house of Hamilton filled the surrounding country. Glasgow was a large unfortified town, and the train of the regent consisted of no greater number than was usual in times of peace. But, on the other side, the citizens of Glasgow were well affected to Murray; the vassals of Glencairn, of Lenox, and of Semple, numerous and full of zeal, lay near at hand. From other parts of the kingdom succours might arrive in the course of a few days: success in battle depends not always on numbers; fame is gained or lost by the first step taken; and retreat, in the present circumstances of the regent, would be branded with the ignominy of a flight, would dispirit his friends, and encourage his enemies. In this exigency of his affairs, the genius of Murray was displayed; he chose with wisdom, and acted with vigour. Hav-

ing declared against a retreat, he fixed his head-quarters at Glasgow, where he for some days amused the queen by pretending to negociate. During this interval his adherents were, with industry, collected together from all parts of the kingdom. Confiding in the experience and valour of his troops, who were soon in a condition to take the field, he determined, though still inferior to the enemy in numbers, to break off the conferences and hazard a battle.

The generals of the queen had also commanded their army to move (13th May), with an intention to conduct her to Dunbarton castle, a place of great strength, which the regent had not been able to wrest from the hands of its governor, lord Fleming. Should the enemy attempt to interrupt their march, they had imprudently resolved not to decline the engagement. A part of the forces of Mary was only assembled: the northern clans, under Huntley and Ogilvie, were daily expected: the sufferings of the queen had softened the prejudices of the people; the address she had manifested in her escape dazzled and interested them; the nobles who flocked to her defence threw a lustre on her cause; on the friendship of France she might depend; while a support from England was reasonably to be expected:

from adopting prudent measures she had every thing to hope; from rashness and precipitation, every thing to fear.

By the sudden transition of her affairs, the lively passions, and sanguine spirit of the queen, were unfortunately flushed to presumption and confidence. With an army doubling in numbers that of her adversaries, success appeared to her certain. Of these troops, which consisted chiefly of the Hamiltons and their dependents, the archbishop of St. Andrew's had the principal direction. By a victory, he trusted, not merely to crush the regent, the ancient enemy of his house, but to get into his hands the person of the queen, and to gain to himself the chief direction of her affairs: an ambition which proved fatal to all whom it concerned.

Between the two armies, on the road towards Dunbarton, was an eminence called Langside-hill, which the regent had the precaution to seize. His troops were posted in a small village, and among the gardens and adjacent enclosures. Thus advantageously situated, he waited the approach of the enemy, whose superiority in cavalry, on such broken ground, could but little avail them. The vanguard, composed of the Hamiltons, put themselves out of breath, as,

leaving the main body behind them, they ran eagerly to the attack. The conflict between the spearmen was fierce and desperate: exposed on one side to a confined fire from a body of musqueteers, attacked on the other by the choicest troops of the regent, and unsupported by the remainder of the army of their friends, the Hamiltons were compelled to give ground: the rout immediately became general. Three hundred fell in the field: scarce any were killed in the flight. The regent, with his principal officers, besought the soldiers to spare their countrymen. A number of prisoners were taken, among whom were many persons of distinction and rank. Murray marched back to Glasgow, and returned public thanksgivings to God for this great and almost bloodless victory.

During the engagement Mary stood on a hill, and beheld with strong emotion all that was passing. When she saw the issue of the battle, on which her last hopes were suspended, her courage, which through all her troubles had hitherto sustained her, utterly sunk. In confusion and horror she began her flight; and so terrible was the trepidation of her spirits, that she stopped not till she reached the abbey of Dunrenan, in Galloway, full sixty Scottish miles from the field of battle. In the space of eleven days she

had beheld herself a prisoner, at the mercy of her greatest enemies; at the head of a powerful army, with a numerous train of nobles devoted to her service; and a fugitive, at the hazard of her life, driven, with a few attendants, to lurk in a corner of her kingdom. Still anxious and agitated in her retreat, she was impelled by her fears to an irretrievable step, fatal to all her future hopes.

The regent had, after his victory, marched to Edinburgh, ignorant of the course taken by the queen: some days passed before he thought of pursuing her. Concealed in her retirement, among people devoted to her interest, Mary might have remained in safety, till her dispersed friends had again collected and assembled themselves for her defence. Any hazard perhaps was preferable to that of throwing herself into the hands of a rival, of whose perfidy she had already experienced repeated proofs, and who was prompted to betray her both by inclination and interest. It is true, that, during the captivity of Mary, Elizabeth had declared against the proceedings of her subjects; had solicited for her deliverance from captivity; and offered to her a refuge in England. She had even promised to meet her in person, and to give her such a reception as was due to a queen and an ally. No longer an object of jealousy, but of

compassion, Mary trusted in the generosity of a sister queen, that she would not take an advantage of her calamitous situation. With the horrors of a prison fresh in her memory, she dreaded falling a second time into the hands of her own subjects, who had proved themselves incapable of pity; and who, exasperated by what had past, might proceed to extremities. To escape into France was dangerous, if not impracticable, while many affecting recollections rendered the idea of appearing as an exile and a fugitive in the scene of her former pleasures, altogether intolerable. England seemed to offer itself as the only asylum. In vain her attendants, with the lords Herries and Heming, implored her on their knees not to confide in Elizabeth: her resolution was not to be shaken; and to England she fatally resolved to fly. Herries, by her command, wrote to Lowther, deputy-governor of Carlisle, to enquire what reception he would give to the Scottish queen: but, before the answer could arrive, so impatient were her apprehensions, she got into a fisherman's boat, and, with about twenty attendants, landed at Workington in Cumberland; whence, with marks of respect, she was conducted to Carlisle.

She addressed, on her arrival in England, a letter to the queen, in which she painted, in

glowing colours, the injuries she had sustained, and implored the sympathy and assistance which her present situation so pressingly required. Elizabeth and her council deliberated upon the measures, which, on this extraordinary event, it would be proper to pursue. Three alternatives presented themselves, either to reinstate the fugitive queen in her authority, which generosity seemed to demand from Elizabeth; to allow her to retire to the continent; or to retain her in England. Each of these resolutions would have drawn after it consequences, of which the ministers of Elizabeth were but too well aware *.

After many deliberations, and a minute and accurate examination of the question, the political interests of Elizabeth triumphed over the dictates of a more magnanimous sentiment, and she determined, in despite of justice and humanity, to avail herself of the advantage given her by the confidence of her rival. But, still solicitous to save appearances, and to veil the conduct she meditated under an appearance of necessity, she dispatched lord Scroope, warden of the west marches, and sir Francis Knollys, her vice-chamberlain, with letters to Mary, filled with prostituted expressions of condolence and sympathy.

* See life of Elizabeth.

These gentlemen had orders, at the same time, to watch the motions of the Scottish queen, and to prevent her withdrawing from the kingdom. Mary, on their arrival, demanded a personal interview with the queen, that she might lay before her the injuries she had suffered, and receive from her those offices of friendship which she had been taught to expect. This honour, she was told, must, with whatever reluctance, be at present denied to her, since the imputation of the crime under which she laboured must bring a stain upon the reputation of their mistress, to whom she was so nearly allied: but that, whenever she should clear herself she might be assured of receiving aid proportioned to her distress, and a reception suitable to the dignity of her rank.

By this pretence, Mary was entangled in the snare spread for her. She expressed her astonishment at this evasion of her request, and, confiding in the professions of friendship which she had received, agreed to submit her cause to the cognisance of Elizabeth, while she undertook to produce proofs so convincing of her innocence, and of the malice and falsehood of her enemies, as should fully satisfy the delicacy of her sister queen. By this appeal, the very point to which the plans of Elizabeth were directed, she became the umpire between the queen of Scots and her

subjects, and found it wholly in her power to protract, to perplex, or to involve the enquiry in endless mazes and difficulties: while, at the same time, she had a decent pretext for keeping Mary at a distance from her court, and withdrawing her assistance towards replacing her on the throne. It appeared not impossible, from the presumptions of her guilt, that her subjects might be able to make good their charge against her; and, even in failure of this, it seemed little probable, that proofs of her innocence could be brought by Mary sufficiently incontestible, as to leave the English queen altogether without an excuse. Her impatience of restraint, and indignation at the measures practised upon her, might also provoke her to such cabals as should seem to justify the rigour with which she was treated.

While Elizabeth contemplated the advantages which were likely to arise to her, she was not without apprehensions, that, should Mary discover her purpose too soon, she might recede from the offer which she had so frankly made: still determined not to drop the enquiry, she deliberated on expedients for its better execution. The countess of Lenox, believing Mary to have been accessary to the murder of her son, and thirsting for vengeance, with a mother's fondness, implored with tears, both in her own name and in

that of her husband, the pity of Elizabeth; and that the Scottish queen might be brought to justice. To this accusation of the parents of Darnly, Elizabeth, their nearest kinswoman, could not but listen. The nobles of Scotland likewise openly charged Mary with the same crime, while they pretended they had sufficient evidence to establish their charge. Thus circumstanced, it could not be difficult to induce them to petition the queen of England to take cognisance of their proceedings against their sovereign; in which case, it was the opinion of the council, that it would be just to comply with their request. The obsolete claim of the superiority of England over Scotland was also alleged; it was therefore inferred, that the contest between Mary and her subjects belonged of right to the jurisdiction of Elizabeth. While these expedients were revolving in her mind, the English queen reserved them to be used as occasion should require: she was desirous that, for the present, the enquiry into the conduct of Mary should appear as if undertaken for the vindication of her innocence, and in compliance with her own request: while this remained as an ostensible pretence, every other expedient was to be held in reserve.

In submitting her cause to Elizabeth, as to an

equal, for whose satisfaction she was willing to explain her conduct, Mary was far from suspecting the consequences that ensued. She had no intention of acknowledging superiority in the queen of England, who she expected would, as a friend, herself receive and examine her defences. But Elizabeth chose to construe differently the offer into which Mary had been ensnared: while considering herself as umpire in the cause between the Scottish queen and her subjects, she began to act in that capacity. She proposed to appoint commissioners to hear the pleadings of both parties, and wrote to the regent of Scotland, to empower proper persons to appear, in his name, and produce what could be alleged in vindication of his proceedings.

Mary, who had hitherto relied on the professions of Elizabeth, was by this proposal at once undeceived. Perceiving the artifice to which she had been a victim, and the diminution which her honour would suffer in appearing at the bar of a judge with her rebellious subjects, she retracted the offer which she had made, and which had been so grossly misconstrued and perverted. Re-urging her demands to be admitted into the presence of the English queen, she expressed herself with mingled grief and indignation: "In my present situation" says she, "I

neither will nor can reply to the accusations of my subjects. I am ready, of my own accord, and out of friendship to you, to satisfy your scruples, and to vindicate my own conduct. My subjects are not my equals; nor will I, by submitting my cause to a judicial trial, acknowledge them to be so. I fled into your arms, as into those of my nearest relation, and most perfect friend. I did you honour, as I imagined, in choosing you, preferably to any other prince, to be the restorer of an injured queen. Was it ever known that a prince was blamed for hearing, in person, the complaints of those who appealed to his justice, against the false accusations of his enemies? You admitted into your presence my bastard-brother, who had been guilty of rebellion; and you deny me that honour! God forbid that I should be the occasion of bringing any stain upon your reputation, to which, I expected, your manner of treating me would have added lustre. Suffer me either to implore the aid of other princes, whose delicacy on this head will be less, and their resentment of my wrongs greater, or let me receive from your hands that assistance, which it becomes you, more than any other prince, to grant; and by that benefit bind me to yourself in the indissoluble ties of gratitude."

Though somewhat disconcerted by this letter, Elizabeth was not diverted from the prosecution of

her purposes. Having laid the matter before the privy council, it was there determined, notwithstanding the remonstrances of the Scottish queen, to go on with the investigation into her conduct; till the conclusion of which, it was agreed, Elizabeth could not, in consistency with her own honour, and the safety of her government, either give to Mary the assistance which she asked, or allow her to retire from the kingdom: lest, while residing too near the borders, she should find an opportunity to escape, it was thought proper to remove her to a place of greater safety.

During these transactions in the English court, the regent neglected not to improve his victory. The queen was driven out of the kingdom; while her adherents, dispersed and without a leader, were left to the mercy of their adversaries.

Mary, in despite of her remonstrances and complaints, was, according to the decision of the English council, conducted to Bolton, a castle of lord Scroope's, on the borders of Yorkshire (July 13, 1568). Her correspondence with her friends in Scotland became in this situation attended with difficulties, while all hope of escaping was wholly cut off. Though still treated with the respect due to her rank, her real condition she felt to be that of a prisoner. The recollection of her former sufferings in confinement, aggravated the ter-

rors of her present fate. While these emotions were still fresh and lively, Elizabeth renewed her propositions, that she would permit the regent, and his adherents, to be called into England, and consent to their being heard in their own justification. Whatever might prove the issue of this enquiry, she promised, on her part, to exert all her power and influence towards replacing Mary, with a few limitations, in the seat of her former authority. This assurance, so soothing to the hopes of the captive queen, induced her, under the present agitation of her spirits, to yield at length a reluctant assent. The more effectually to conciliate Elizabeth, and to draw closer the union between them, Mary, we are told, shewed a disposition to relax in a point, with regard to which she had hitherto remained uniformly inflexible. She affected a veneration for the liturgy of the church of England, while she frequently was present during the performance of the rites of the reformed church: she even made choice of a protestant clergyman as her chaplain; listened to his sermons against popery with attention and seeming pleasure, and discovered all the symptoms of an approaching conversion. The attachment of Mary to her religion cannot be doubted; this dissimulation, therefore, upon a supposition

of the truth of the account, strongly marks the apprehensions that had seized on her mind.

The regent, about this time, August 18th, called a parliament, for the purpose of proceeding to the forfeiture of those who refused to acknowledge the government of the king. Alarmed by this step, Argyle and Huntley, whom Mary had appointed her lieutenants, the one in the south and the other in the north of Scotland, began to assemble their forces, with a view to obstruct the meeting. The regent would, perhaps, have found it difficult to withstand their attack, had not Mary commanded them to lay down their arms, and to wait patiently for the decision of her cause in England, to which she had agreed to refer it. This concession, by which a seasonable relief was given to the party of the regent, the captive queen could not refuse to the request of Elizabeth.

Murray, however, would not consent to put off the meeting of parliament; but the most violent opponents of the king only suffered forfeitures; the rest were allowed to hope for favour: this moderation may be attributed to the interference of the queen of England, and also to the instances of Maitland, who laboured to prevent his countrymen from exterminating each other.

No sooner had Mary submitted her cause to

her rival, than the regent was required by Elizabeth to send deputies to York, properly instructed, to vindicate the steps he had taken. Murray, whose authority Scotland had already established and confirmed, consented to this measure with anxiety and hesitation. While he felt mortified to be subjected to a foreign jurisdiction, he shrunk from the odious task of accusing his sovereign before strangers, the ancient enemies of his name and country. Either success or failure appeared alike disgraceful. Yet, dreading the interposition of the French king, and aware of the strength of the adverse faction, which seemed daily to increase, the commands of Elizabeth he felt were not to be disputed. The necessity of repairing in person to York, his associates having declined the office, unless he would consent to share with them the peril, rendered the step he was compelled to take still more humiliating. Among those appointed to join him in the commission, were the earl of Masten, Bothwell bishop of Orkney, and lord Lindsay. Two eminent civilians also accompanied him, with George Buchanan, his faithful adherent; a man whose talents reflected honour upon the age: also Maitland, who owed his distinction to the fears of the regent, and who had warmly remonstrated against the measure. Murray dared not leave behind

him a man who was desirous of re-establishing the queen in some degree of power, that might not interfere with that possessed by her son, and whose superior abilities had acquired an influence in the nation.

Lesley bishop of Ross, lords Livingston, Boyd, Herries, &c. were empowered by Mary to appear in her name.

Thomas Howard, duke of Norfolk, was nominated by Elizabeth, with Ratcliff earl of Sussex, and sir Ralph Sadler, as commissioners to hear the parties. The opening of the conference was fixed for the 4th of October. This singular transaction seemed to elevate Elizabeth to an important rank: at her tribunal appeared a rival and independent queen, the heir of a race of monarchs, and a prisoner in her hands. The regent, who, with the authority of a king, represented the majesty of Scotland, stood in person at her bar; while the fate of a kingdom, so much dreaded by her ancestors, was wholly at her disposal.

The views proposed by each party in this conference were very different. The object of Mary, in consenting to a measure which she had so long opposed, was the recovery of her former authority, for which the promises of Elizabeth afforded her a ground of hope: to attain this end, urged

by impatience under her present situation, she was ready to make to the faction of the king many concessions. The aim of the regent, who had no thoughts of coming to a composition with Mary, was to obtain for his party the protection of England. The projects of Elizabeth were more various and more difficult to fathom. The intention of the conference, she pretended, was to remove from the character of Mary those imputations which stained her honour, and respecting which she affected great concern. While she eluded the solicitations of the French and Spanish embassadors in behalf of the fugitive queen, she contrived to divert her anxiety by repeated promises of assistance, whenever she could espouse her cause without disgrace to herself. But, under this mask of friendship and generosity, she cherished sentiments of a very opposite nature. In the expectation that the regent would accuse Mary as an accessary to the murder of her husband, she gave him every encouragement, without violating appearances, to adopt so desperate a measure. Nor was she unprepared for the issue: should the charge appear to be well founded, she had determined to pronounce Mary unworthy of a crown; and to declare, that she could not burthen her conscience by the guilt of restoring her to her kingdom. If, on the contrary, the evi-

dence of her accusers should not amount to a proof of the crime, she designed to set on foot a treaty for her restoration, but with such conditions as should render her the slave of her own subjects, and the dependant of England. Nor did she forget that it remained in her power to protract the cause by endless delays, and involve it in entanglements and perplexities.

At the very commencement of the conference, which was opened with much solemnity (October 8th), it appeared to be the design of Elizabeth to inflame rather than extinguish the animosity of the parties. No efforts of conciliation were made, nor any concession demanded on either side. The commissioners of Mary, in their complaint preferred against their adversaries, were allowed to use the most exaggerated terms, and to demand such a speedy and effectual redress, as the justice of one sovereign owed to another. In reply to this, it was expected that the regent would have brought forward his charge against the queen, as being an accessary in the murder of her husband, and that he would have entered into the circumstances and evidence of the crime: but far from accusing Mary, he even answered not the complaints urged against himself. He discovered a reluctance to the office imposed upon him, and started many scruples and doubts, of which he

demanded the solution from Elizabeth herself. The English commissioners, and his own associates, were equally surprised at this reserve: the vindication of his conduct depended on his substantiating the charge against the queen, respecting whom he had hitherto discovered but little delicacy or forbearance. This mystery was sufficiently elucidated by a secret negociation which was carrying on at York.

The duke of Norfolk, the most powerful and popular nobleman in England, had already formed a project of a marriage with the queen of Scots, whom he was desirous to save from the humiliation which threatened her, and which might prove prejudicial to her claims on the English succession. With this view, he had applied to Maitland, to whom, with a compliment to his reputed wisdom, he expressed his astonishment, that he should concur with the regent in a measure so disgraceful to themselves, and to their country; that they should submit the transactions of their nation to the judgment of foreigners; and expose the faults of their sovereign, which they were equally bound in policy and in honour to conceal. The sentiments of Maitland differed not from those of the duke, nor did he find it difficult to vindicate his own conduct. He assured him, with truth, that he had tried to save his countrymen from the step they were about to take, and

that he would still, to the utmost of his power, persist in that endeavour. Thus encouraged, Norfolk addressed himself to the regent, to whom he repeated and enforced the same argument, while he warned him of the danger to which he was about to expose himself. Should Mary, he observed, ever recover any degree of power, she could never forgive the infamy of the transaction, and his destruction must be inevitable. Nor could Elizabeth screen him from her just resentment by a public approbation of his conduct; since, whatever evidence he might produce of the guilt of the queen, she was determined not to give a definitive sentence. Let him demand that the business should be brought to a decision, immediately after the proof was produced, and he would be fully convinced of her insidious intentions. The truth of these remonstrances, and the candour with which they were made, forcibly impressed the mind of the regent: the impression was strengthened by daily assurances of the willingness of Mary to forgive his offences against her, on condition that he should abstain from this odious imputation; with menaces should he pursue a contrary conduct. Thus circumstanced, he resolved, before he should proceed, to try the expedient suggested by the duke.

He demanded, therefore, to be informed, whether the English commissioners were empowered, by a judicial act, to declare the queen guilty; whether they would engage to pass sentence without delay; whether Mary should be kept under such constraint, as should prevent her from disturbing the government in Scotland; and whether Elizabeth would engage, should she approve of their proceedings, to protect in future the party of the king? These demands, signed by himself alone, were communicated only to Maitland and Melvil. Natural as was the solicitude of the regent, Elizabeth seemed not to have foreseen the objection, nor had she empowered her commissioners to give the requested satisfaction. It became necessary to transmit the articles to herself, when Norfolk endeavoured to impress their importance on her mind. 'Think not,' said he, 'the Scots over-scrupulous—the game they play is deep; their estates, their lives, their honours, are at stake. It is now in their own power to be reconciled to their queen, or to offend her irrecoverably; and, in a matter of so much consequence, the utmost degree of caution is not excessive.'

The regent, while the English commissioners waited for fuller instructions, gave in an answer to the complaint of the Scottish queen in terms

conformable to the system he had adopted. No insinuation was given respecting the murder of Darnly; the infamy of the marriage with Bothwell was only pleaded as an excuse for having taken up arms to dissolve it; nor even on this subject was more said than what self-defence rendered absolutely necessary. The commissioners of the queen failed not to reply: but, while the article of the murder remained untouched, these distant skirmishes were followed by no consequences.

By the necessity of consulting Elizabeth upon every difficulty that occurred, and the distance between York and London, much time was necessarily consumed. The negociation of Norfolk with the regent, which had hitherto frustrated the views of the English queen, and suppressed the discoveries of which she had been in expectation, could scarcely escape her sagacity and penetration: she therefore resolved to remove the conferences to Westminster, and to appoint commissioners more worthy of confidence. It was not without difficulty that Mary and the regent were brought to approve of this change in the plan. The advantage of the commissioners of the former had been manifest, and striking, during the conferences at York. The participation of Mary in the crime of

the king's murder, could only justify the proceedings of her subjects: while, therefore, this circumstance was industriously kept back, her cause could not but acquire strength. At Westminster she could not hope to enjoy the same advantages, of which Elizabeth was resolved to deprive her. For this purpose, she deliberated with anxiety how she might best overcome the scruples of the regent. The promises by which it might be necessary to allure him could scarcely be concealed from the Scottish queen, whom she therefore determined to guard more narrowly. Lord Scroope, in whose charge she at present resided, was brother-in-law to the duke of Norfolk, a circumstance which would alone have inclined Elizabeth to remove her. Mary was accordingly carried to Tuthbury in Staffordshire, and committed to the keeping of the earl of Shrewsbury.

Notwithstanding the satisfaction expressed by the Scottish queen, at seeing her cause more immediately under the eye of Elizabeth, she was not without distrust respecting this second conference. Her instructions to her commissioners were so framed, as, should her subjects be induced to exhibit a charge against her, to avoid the necessity of replying to their accusations. A mortifying circumstance confirmed her apprehensions. The regent, on his arrival in London, was imme-

diately admitted into the presence of Elizabeth, from whom he received a cordial and respectful reception. Mary, under the first impulse of her feelings at this conduct, which she justly considered as a declaration of hostilities, wrote to her commissioners, and ordered them to complain in the presence of the English nobles, and before the embassadors of foreign powers, of the treatment she had experienced, and the further injuries which she had cause to dread. While she languished in captivity, and laboured under every disadvantage, her rebellious subjects were allowed access to the queen, and encouraged to prefer their accusations against her. Thus circumstanced, she once more demanded to be admitted to the presence of Elizabeth, and declared, in case of a refusal, that she retracted the consent given to the conference at Westminster, and protested that she should hold as null and invalid every thing which should be there transacted.

Whether the commissioners of Mary received not this letter in due time, or whether they suffered themselves to be beguiled by the professions of Elizabeth, it appears that they gave their consent that the conference should be opened, November 25th.

Sir Nicholas Bacon, with the earls of Arundel

and Leicester, lord Clinton and sir William Cecil, were added by the queen of England to her commissioners, when the difficulties, which had at York obstructed their proceedings, appeared no longer to exist. To the demand of the regent a satisfactory answer was given; his negociation with Norfolk had been discovered to Elizabeth, on whom his personal safety, and the continuance of his power, entirely depended. By favouring Mary, she might ruin him at any time; nor would it have been difficult for her, even without restoring the queen, to deprive him of the supreme direction of the state. Thus tempted, and thus urged, the scruples of the regent were vanquished, and he at length determined to become the accuser of the queen. To lessen the disgrace of the transaction, he affected a reluctance to the task he undertook; his party, he declared, had long submitted to the most injurious imputations rather than expose to the eyes of strangers the guilt of their sovereign, till, forced by the importunities and insolence of the adverse faction, self-defence at length compelled them to come forward. Notwithstanding the decent covering which these pretences afforded, no liberty of choice had been left to the regent: the artifices of Elizabeth, and the necessity of his affairs, compelled him to the

alternative either of owning himself a rebel, or of throwing on Mary the charge of murder.

This accusation was conceived in strong terms. The queen of Scots was not only said to have consented to the murder of her husband, but to have been an accessory to its contrivance and execution. She was also charged with having sheltered Bothwell from the pursuit of justice, with designs dangerous to the life of the prince her son, and projects which went to the subversion of the liberties of the nation. In confirmation of these accusations, ample evidence was offered by the regent.

On the next meeting of the commissioners, November 29th, the earl of Lenox presented himself before them, imploring the justice of Elizabeth against the queen of Scots, whom he charged upon oath with the murder of his son. This opportune appearance is not to be imputed to chance: Elizabeth spared no effort that should tend to criminate her unhappy victim.

The commissioners of Mary, surprised and indignant at the conduct of the regent, demanded, in compliance with an article in their instructions, to be allowed an audience of the queen, to whom they renewed the request of their mistress for a personal interview; and protested, should it

be denied to her, against all future proceedings. They also, before their introduction to Elizabeth, acquainted Leicester and Cecil, that as their mistress had, from the beginning, wished to effect an amicable accommodation of the differences between herself and her subjects, so, notwithstanding the audacity and turpitude of the regent, she was still solicitous for such a termination.

In reply, Elizabeth informed the commissioners, that nothing could be more dishonourable to Mary, in the present juncture of her affairs, than such a procedure, which would wear the appearance of having huddled up the affair for the purpose of suppressing discoveries: nor was it possible that she could be admitted into her presence, while she laboured under the infamy of a public accusation.

On this repulse the commissioners withdrew. But the purpose of Elizabeth was not yet complete: while Mary declined to answer to the charge of the regent, the proofs, which he pretended to hold in his hands, could not with propriety be produced. The project of Elizabeth to get over this difficulty, was in entire consistency with the rest of her conduct. She commanded her commissioners to testify to the regent, her indignation at his presumption in throwing on his sove-

reign the imputation of a vile and odious crime: when he, as she foresaw, to deprecate her wrath, offered to convince her of the foundation of his charge. For this purpose, the acts of the Scottish parliament, in confirmation of the regent's authority, the resignation extorted from the queen, the confessions* of the persons executed for the murder of the king, and the fatal casket of letters, addressed to Bothwell, and said to be written by Mary, were produced, and delivered to the English commissioners. When in possession of these documents, the style of Elizabeth to her prisoner was wholly changed. As if convinced of the certainty of her guilt, she blamed her for forbearing to vindicate herself from an accusation which could not be left unanswered without injury to her character; while she plainly hinted, that, unless the imputation should be removed, she must hope for no change in her present situation.

By such an intimation, she thought to intimidate Mary, to force her to confirm her resignation to the crown, to ratify the authority of Murray, to consent to accept her protection,

* These confessions do not certainly appear to involve the guilt of Mary.

and to reside, with her son, in England. In support of this plan, which she proposed both to Mary and her commissioners, she omitted no argument nor artifice by which it might be enforced and recommended. The captive queen, who perceived the stroke aimed at her reputation, her pretensions, and even at her personal safety, rejected it with indignation. "Death," said she, "is less dreadful than a step so ignominious. Rather than give away, with my own hands, the crown which descended to me from my ancestors, I will part with life: but the last words I utter shall be those of a queen of Scotland."

But sensible at the same time of the imputations which tarnished her fame, she empowered her commissioners, though the conference was now dissolved, to present a reply to the allegations of her enemies, in which, in strong terms, she denied the crimes laid to her charge, and recriminated on the adverse party, by declaring, that it was to themselves that the murder of the king was to be attributed. Murray and his associates asserted their innocence with warmth. Mary continued to insist on a personal interview with the queen, and Elizabeth to urge her to the vindication of her honour.

The regent became impatient of his detention

in England, his adversaries, in his absence, having endeavoured to stir up commotions. Before he set out on his return, he was summoned to the privy-council, to receive from Elizabeth her final sentiments. As, on the one hand, he was informed by Cecil (in the name of his mistress) nothing had been objected to his conduct, which she could deem detrimental to his honour, or inconsistent with his duty; nor, on the other, had he produced any thing against his sovereign, on which she could found an unfavourable opinion of her actions; she had, for these reasons, left the affairs of Scotland precisely in the situation in which she had found them. The commissioners of Mary were dismissed in a similar manner. December 24th.

This conclusion of an affair which had, for upwards of four months, engrossed the attention of both nations, cannot but appear, on a superficial view, equally extraordinary and ridiculous; but the future conduct of Elizabeth rendered her purposes apparent. The neutrality which she professed existed only in words. She supplied the regent, before his departure, with a considerable sum of money, and engaged to support the party of the young king. The behaviour of Mary strengthened her in this resolution. Incensed at the duplicity with which she had been treated, and despairing of any real succour from

Elizabeth, she endeavoured to rouse her own adherents in Scotland, by imputing to Murray, and to the queen of England, designs which could not fail to incense every Scotchman. She pretended, that the prince was to be conveyed by Murray into England, to which the places of greatest strength in the kingdom were to be surrendered, and that the dependence of the Scottish upon the English nation was to be acknowledged. Also that, in return for these services, Murray was to be declared the lawful heir to the crown of Scotland, while the English succession was to be decided in favour of the earl of Hartford, who had engaged to espouse one of the daughters of Cecil. These reports were circulated widely among the Scots. Elizabeth, who perceived their tendency, and whose aversion to Mary they could not fail to increase, laboured to prevent their effects by a counter proclamation.

On the return of the regent to Scotland, which had remained tranquil during his absence, the suspended rage of the queen's faction threatened to break out anew, and to involve the kingdom in the horrors of a civil war. They were encouraged to resistance by the appearance of the duke of Chatelherault, a leader whose high quality entitled him to authority, who had for some years past resided in France, by the court of which

he was now sent over. He had, in England, been invested by Mary with the dignity of her lieutenant-general in Scotland, together with the title of her adopted father. But the regent, without giving the duke time to regulate his proceedings, hastily assembled an army, with which he marched to Glasgow. By the rapidity and vigour of his movements, the strength and spirit of his adversaries were broken, and the duke compelled to come to an accommodation, at the peril of the destruction of his vassals and estates.

In this treaty Argyll and Huntley refused to be included. The affairs of the captive queen, in whose favour an intrigue was carrying on in England, began to assume a better aspect, and to open a prospect of her return to her kingdom. The advantages gained by the French king over the huguenots, promised to restore the tranquillity of France, and to enable it to afford to Mary its protection. Influenced by these circumstances the duke began to waver, and exhibit marks of irresolution, as if desirous to evade the accomplishment of the treaty. The regent, who saw the danger which menaced him, instantly adopted a bold resolution. By his order, Chatelherault was seized in his own house at Edinburgh, whither he had come to attend the convention, and committed, with lord Herries, a prisoner to the

castle. By this blow, audacious as unexpected, his party was wholly dispirited. Argyll submitted to the king, and, on easy terms, made his peace with the regent; while Huntley, thus left to stand alone, was compelled to lay down his arms (April 16th, 1569). Lord Boyd, soon after these events, returning into Scotland, brought with him letters from the two queens, for the consideration of which a convention was held at Perth. Three different proposals were contained in the letter of Elizabeth: either that Mary should be restored to her former authority; that she should be admitted to reign jointly with her son; or be allowed in some decent retreat to reside in Scotland, without any share in the administration of affairs. These overtures had been extorted by the importunity of Fenelon, the embassador from France. The two former of these propositions, as foreseen by Elizabeth, were immediately rejected; while, respecting the latter, many delays and difficulties must of necessity intervene.

In the letter of Mary, she demanded that her marriage with Bothwell should be reviewed by proper judges, and, if found invalid, should, by a legal sentence, be dissolved. The dissolution of these nuptials, the source of all her calamities, could only heal the wounds of her reputation, and

repair the injuries she had sustained: but the convention, who chose to impute to other motives her wish for a divorce, thought proper to reject her request.

A marriage between Mary and the duke of Norfolk, was the object of the intrigues in England; a scheme conceived by the genius of Maitland, and communicated by him, during the conference at York, to the duke himself, and to the bishop of Ross. A project so flattering to his ambition, readily obtained the concurrence of the former; while the latter perceived in it a probable device for restoring his mistress to prosperity and power. Nor did Murray, who held a correspondence with Norfolk, by the means of his sister, lady Scroope, shew any aversion from the measure proposed. By the removal of the conference to Westminster, the intrigue had been suspended, but not broken off. Maitland and Ross still prompted the duke, whom they served as agents; while many letters were exchanged between Norfolk and the queen.

To deceive Elizabeth, and, by an appearance of candour, to remove her suspicions, the duke complained to her of the rumour respecting his marriage with the Scottish queen, which he disclaimed as a groundless calumny. In this negociation, which was renewed with greater activity, several

new associates were admitted, among whom was the regent himself, then on the point of departing for Scotland. The influence of the duke in the northern parts of England was extensive and great. The earls of Westmoreland and Northumberland, the most powerful noblemen of the North, threatened vengeance upon the regent for his conduct towards Mary, by which he also gave offence to Norfolk. In the view of procuring for himself a safe retreat, he apologised to the duke for his past conduct, insinuated his approbation of the projected marriage, and his intention of concurring in so desirable an event. Norfolk, rendered credulous by the eagerness of his wishes, fell into the snare spread for him. He wrote to the two earls to suffer Murray to pass unhurt, and protected him by his influence from every hostile design.

Elated with his success in having gained over the regent, the duke next essayed his power among the English nobles, whom he sought to draw over to his party. The nation, despairing of the marriage of Elizabeth, whose jealousy kept undecided the question of the succession, and affected by the remembrance of the wars between the houses of York and Lancaster, whose dissensions had deluged the kingdom with blood, dreaded the idea of a disputed title. The right

of the Scottish queen to the succession was generally acknowledged: by espousing a foreigner or a papist she might endanger the liberty and the religion of the country: while her marriage with an Englishman, and a zealous protestant, the most powerful and the most beloved among the nobles, appeared an effectual remedy against the evils apprehended. Influenced by these considerations, the majority of the nobles gave their direct, or tacit, approbation to the views of the duke. To a letter written by Leicester, addressed to Mary, and recommending the alliance, the earls of Arundel, Pembroke, Leicester, and lord Lumley, subscribed their names. It was however insisted, as a preliminary, that nothing should be attempted against Elizabeth or her posterity; that a league offensive and defensive should be formed between the two kingdoms; that the present religious establishment in Scotland should be confirmed; and that Mary should receive into her favour such of her subjects as had appeared in arms against her. On her consent to the marriage, and ratification of these articles, it was engaged, that the English nobles should restore her immediately to the throne of her ancestors, and secure to her in reversion the crown of England. These proposals, excepting the second, with regard to which the demanded time to consult the king of

France, met with a ready acquiescence from the Scottish queen.

This negociation was carefully preserved from the knowledge of Elizabeth, whose approbation of the measures proposed could scarcely be expected: yet, as nothing was to be concluded without her consent, the confederacy believed themselves to have preserved their duty and allegiance. While the inferior associates were thus beguiled, the conductors of the intrigue extended their views. The advantages of the treaty to Mary appeared sure and present, and the engagements she bound herself to observe both uncertain and distant. The kings of France and Spain, to whom the scheme had been early communicated, had given to it their approbation. To a combination so strong and powerful, it was hoped that Elizabeth would find it necessary to yield. In confidence of success, a plan was even concerted for the rescue of Mary out of the hands of her keepers. But Norfolk, who feared lest, in the recovery of her liberty, her sentiments in his favour might suffer a change, earnestly dissuaded his associates from the attempt.

Such was the situation of affairs, when lord Boyd arrived in Scotland. Beside the letters publicly produced, he was the bearer of others, written in cyphers, from Norfolk and Throg-

morton to the regent and Maitland. These, full of the most sanguine hopes, briefly narrated all that had been done. Every preliminary appeared to have been adjusted; nothing seemed wanting to the scheme but the concluding ceremony, which it depended on the regent to hasten by procuring a sentence of divorce. This expectation was founded on the promise made to Norfolk by Murray, whose situation had, since that period, become greatly changed.

He perceived in the success of the duke, the certain downfal of his own power; nor could he reasonably expect from the queen, the author of whose misfortunes he had principally been, to find either favour or impunity. Thus circumstanced, he withheld the consent demanded; a refusal by which some delay was necessarily occasioned. A contract of marriage between Norfolk and the queen of Scots, had been signed and intrusted to the embassador of France.

A secret confided to so many persons could not remain long concealed. That Elizabeth should be made acquainted with what was passing, was more particularly the interest of the regent. Whispers and rumours spread through the court. The duke was summoned into the presence of the queen, and warned to lay aside his dangerous schemes. Leicester, a

short time afterwards, fully revealed to Elizabeth the whole transaction. Pembroke, Arundel, Lumley, and Throgmorton, were examined and confined. Mary was more strictly guarded, while Hastings, earl of Huntingdon, who pretended to dispute with her the title to the succession, being joined in commission with Shrewsbury, rendered her captivity more rigorous and intolerable. The regent, threatened with the displeasure of Elizabeth, put into her hands the letters of the duke. Norfolk retired first to Howard-house, whence, being summoned to appear before the privy-council, he fled to his seat in Norfolk. Discouraged by the fate of his associates, unprepared for rebellion, and coldly received by his friends, after hesitating some days, he thought fit to comply with a second summons, and repaired to Windsor. Having been sent a prisoner to the Tower, and detained there six months, he was at length liberated, on his humble submission to the queen, promise of future allegiance, and of renouncing all farther correspondence with Mary.

During these transactions, the party of the queen of Scotland, of whom Maitland was the soul, had indulged the most sanguine hopes. He had seduced from the regent several of his former associates, among whom were Kirkaldy

and lord Home. Murray, dreading his activity and zeal, and irritated by the intrigues which he was perpetually fomenting, laid a train for his destruction, by employing one of his creatures to accuse him of having been an accessory to the murder of the late king. Under this pretence, he was carried prisoner to Edinburgh, with a design that he should take his trial. The friendship of Kirkaldy, governor of the castle, saved him from the perils by which he was beset: pretending a warrant from the regent, he rescued him from the hands of the person to whom he was confided, and, having conducted him to the castle, put it under his command. By the loss of this important place, and the defection of Kirkaldy, a man eminent for his military talents, the regent was brought into disrepute; for which, however, the success of Elizabeth, his ally, fully compensated.

On the discovery of the intrigue for restoring the Scottish queen, an attempt was made by her friends to liberate her by force of arms; an enterprise that proved not more successful. The earls of Northumberland and Westmoreland, more distinguished for their rank than their personal merit, attached to the Romish religion, and dissatisfied with the court, had, since Mary's arrival in England, warmly espoused her cause.

Having contrived to baffle the vigilance of her keepers, they held with her a close correspondence, and communicated to her all their designs. The liberty of the captive queen was not their sole object; neither, though acquainted with the plans of Norfolk, did the caution of his proceedings accord with the ardour and extent of their purposes. They possessed in the North large estates, and an hereditary influence over the inhabitants. Their aim was to bring about, with a change of religion, a revolution in the government of the kingdom. To this end they had solicited the assistance of the king of Spain, the avowed and bigotted patron of the papal church. Philip, delighted with the idea of involving England in civil war, gave his promise to the earls of money and troops, whenever they would take the field with their forces, surprise any place of strength, or rescue the queen of Scots. Even the ports had been sounded where a landing could be best effected; while, under commercial pretences, an able officer was dispatched into England, that the rebels might be sure of a leader of experience. In the conduct of this project, frequent messages and meetings passed between the two earls; circumstances which were faithfully reported to Elizabeth. Unconscious of their real purpose, and suspecting merely a connectio with then

schemes of Norfolk, she summoned the earls to appear in her presence. Upon their hesitation to obey the call, a second was issued still more peremptory. Aware of their designs, and dreading a discovery, the earls believed that no alternative remained: instantly setting up their standard, they prepared, by alleging their motives, to justify their rebellion. The re-establishment of the catholic religion; the settling the order of succession; and the defence of the ancient nobility; were the pleas they urged in defence of their conduct. From among the lower ranks numbers flocked to them; but the leaders wanted capacity to render their enterprise formidable. The prudence and vigilance displayed by Elizabeth on this occasion, was equalled only by the ardour with which she was served. Mary, on the first rumour of what was passing, was removed to Coventry, a place which to be taken would require a regular siege. A detachment from among the insurgents sent to rescue her, returned without having effected their purpose. As the troops of the queen, assembled from different parts of the kingdom, advanced to meet the rebels, they retired from before them. In these retreats, their spirits sunk as their numbers gradually melted away. Despair, and uncertainty whither to fly, kept for a time a small body

among the mountains, who were at length obliged to disperse. The two chiefs, with the countess of Northumberland, took refuge on the Scottish borders, where they wandered some days in the wastes of Liddisdale, till, plundered by banditti, and exposed to the rigours of the season *, they were left destitute of the necessaries of life. Westmoreland, having been concealed by some friends, was afterwards conveyed to the Netherlands; while Northumberland fell into the hands of the regent, who had advanced with some troops towards the borders.

Elizabeth at length became weary of her dangerous captive, whose detention formed a pretence for perpetual cabals. She determined, therefore, to resign her into the hands of the regent, whose interest was so nearly involved in her security. A negociation for this purpose was commenced, and carried to some length, when it was discovered by the watchfulness of the bishop of Ross, who, joined by the French and Spanish embassadors, remonstrated earnestly against the infamy of the act. An accident, in the mean time, for ever prevented a revival of the plan. The regent fell a victim to private resentment, by the rage of a man whom he had mortally offended, who as-

* December 21st, 1569.

sassinated him at Linlithgow, in his way from Stirling to Edinburgh. His administration had been popular; he had dispensed justice with impartiality, repressed with courage the licentiousness of the borderers, and established tranquillity in the country. He was long remembered among the commons by the title of the Good Regent.

The party of the king was by this unexpected blow filled with consternation, nor was Elizabeth less affected; while the adherents of Mary, to whom the assassin fled, received him with joy and triumph. By their indecent exultations they drew upon themselves suspicions of having been accessary to the murder. On the day succeeding to the catastrophe, Scott and Ker, two zealous friends of the queen, entered England in arms, and plundered and burnt the surrounding country.

During the anarchy which followed the death of Murray, every species of irregularity was practised with impunity. To restrain these evils, a convention of the nobles assembled themselves to deliberate respecting a successor to the regent. The adherents of the queen refused to be present at the meeting, and protested against its proceedings. The faction of the king were also divided in their opinions. Maitland, who had been liberated by Kirkaldy, laboured to bring about

a coalition between the parties, and proposed to admit the queen, jointly with her son, to a share in the government. Elizabeth, on the contrary, still adhering to her ancient system, sought to perpetuate disorder and animosity, and to multiply the factions by which the kingdom was torn. The convention broke up without any decision, and a new meeting, to which all parties were invited, was appointed on the 1st of May (1570). Maitland and Kirkaldy, who were most active in their endeavours to heal the wounds of their bleeding country, and who both acknowledged the authority of the king, were themselves divided in opinion, respecting the propriety of admitting Mary to a share in the administration.

At this juncture an envoy arrived from France, with promises of a powerful succour to the friends of the queen. The earl of Sussex, on the other hand, who was assembling an army on the borders, added strength and spirits to the party of the king. The rage of the adverse factions, which had been in some degree suspended by the attempt towards a coalition, revived, on the failure of this plan, with its ancient fury. Morton, the most able leader on the side of the king, solicited the interposition and aid of Elizabeth. The chiefs of the faction of the queen marched to Edinburgh, within whose gates, by the influ-

ence of Kirkaldy, they were reluctantly admitted. The earl of Atholl and Maitland, together with Kirkaldy, embraced, almost openly, their party; while the duke and lord Herries resumed their places in the councils. They published a proclamation, declaratory of their intention to support the authority of the queen; nor did they seem inclined to quit the city before the approaching convention, in which they trusted to secure a majority of voices.

The nobles, who still remained faithful to the king, though weakened by the defection of many of their friends, met at Edinburgh, on the day appointed (May 1st), and issued a counter-proclamation, by which they declared the adherents of the queen to be traitors to their country, and charged them with the murder both of Darnly and the regent. The assistance of Elizabeth was necessary to enable them either to elect a new regent, or to take the field against their adversaries; nor did she suffer them long to implore her in vain. Sir William Drury, by her order, marched into Scotland, with a thousand foot and three hundred horse; when, on being joined by the adherents of the king, he advanced towards Glasgow, from which he forced the adverse party, who had already begun their

attacks, precipitately to retire. Having plundered the neighbouring country, which belonged to the Hamiltons, seized some of their castles, and razed others, he returned with his forces to Edinburgh.

Under the protection of Drury, Lennox returned into Scotland, whom it was the secret wish of Elizabeth to raise to the regency. To this dignity his relation to the young monarch, his illustrious birth, and royal alliances, appeared to give him a natural claim. An open support of the title of Lennox might have proved to his patroness of dangerous consequences; nor did she venture to act decisively in his favour, till encouraged to be explicit by a singular event. A bull was issued by pope Pius V., by which Elizabeth was excommunicated, deprived of her kingdom, and her subjects absolved from their oath of allegiance. Felton, an Englishman, had the temerity to fix this mandate on the gates of the bishop of London's palace. This step, imputed by the queen to a combination of the catholic princes against her, led her to suspect some plot in favour of Mary. Thus circumstanced, and convinced that on her influence in Scotland the safety of her own kingdom depended, she renewed her promises of protection to the party of the king, encouraged them to proceed to the

election of a regent, and even pointed out the earl of Lennox as having the best title. By a convention of the whole party, on the 12th of July, this dignity was accordingly conferred upon him.

His first act, on his elevation, was to prevent the meeting of a parliament, summoned by the party of the queen to assemble at Linlithgow. He marched afterwards against the earl of Huntley, Mary's lieutenant in the North, and forced the garrison placed by him in Brechin to surrender at discretion. He also made himself master of some other castles. Emboldened by this successful commencement of his administration, and by the army of Sussex, hovering on the borders, he deprived Maitland of his office of secretary, and proclaimed him, with the duke, Huntley, and other leaders of the party, traitors and enemies to their country.

Since her captivity in England, Mary had corresponded with the king of Spain, to whom, in the present situation of their affairs, her adherents addressed themselves. By their persuasions, the duke of Alva was prevailed upon to grant them a small supply of money and arms, and to send two of his officers, to take a view of the country, and examine its coasts and harbours. But this

assistance, so inadequate to their relief, would have availed them but little, had not their safety been secured by another circumstance, a treaty carrying on by Elizabeth, under pretence of restoring Mary to her throne. But little progress had been made in this negociation, till the peace concluded in France, between the catholics and the protestants, by awakening her fears respecting the interposition of Charles, quickened the motions of Elizabeth. Having affected to treat her prisoner with greater lenity, and to listen to the solicitations of the foreign embassadors in her behalf, she laboured, in proof of her sincerity, to procure between the contending parties in Scotland a cessation of hostilities. Lennox, elated with his success, and flattering himself with a triumph over his enemies, whose forces and estates were discouraged and exhausted, refused at first to accede to this measure, till compelled by considerations which affected his own safety. A cessation of arms was agreed upon for two months, to commence on the 3d of September: this truce, renewed from time to time, continued till the 1st of April in the ensuing year.

Cecil and sir Walter Mildmay* were sent by

* The former prime-minister, the latter chancellor of the exchequer.

Elizabeth to the captive queen, the hour of whose deliverance appeared to be really approaching. The propositions which were made to her, though advantageous to Elizabeth, were not derogatory to the dignity of Mary. It was required that she should ratify the treaty of Edinburgh; that she should renounce any pretensions to the English crown, during the lives of the present sovereign and those of her posterity; that she should adhere to the alliance between the two kingdoms, and pardon those subjects who had taken up arms against her. Also, that she should engage to hold no correspondence, and to countenance no enterprise, that might tend to disturb the government of Elizabeth. Some persons of rank were demanded as hostages for the accomplishment of this engagement; and a few castles on the borders required to be put into the hands of Elizabeth. To some of these propositions Mary agreed, while others she endeavoured to evade. Copies of them were in the mean time transmitted by her to the pope, to the kings of France and Spain, and to the duke of Alva: to these potentates she intimated, that, without a timely and vigorous interposition in her behalf, she should be obliged to purchase liberty at the price proposed to her. But the pope had exhausted his treasury by efforts

against the Turks. Charles was meditating a conspiracy against his huguenot subjects. Philip was engaged in hostilities against the infidels, and involved in disputes with his own subjects. For these reasons Mary was advised, without depending on foreign aid, to conclude for herself the best terms she could procure.

Thus circumstanced, she consented to the majority of Elizabeth's demands, while she seemed to promise still farther concessions. But however solemnly this treaty had been carried on, it was intended, on the part of the English cabinet, only to gain time, and to amuse the allies of the Scottish queen. After her ungenerous treatment of Mary, who, notwithstanding her confinement, had found means to excite in England dangerous commotions, Elizabeth durst not dismiss her: the probable effects of her resentment were too formidable to be hazarded. Could it be supposed that she would hold herself bound by any engagements extorted from her by the necessity of her situation? What security could she give for her future conduct? or what benefits could efface the remembrance of the injuries she had suffered? One act of injustice involves others in its train; one prevarication may entangle us in endless falsehood.

While these reasonings passed in the mind of

Elizabeth, she suffered them not to appear in her conduct. Seven of her privy-counsellors were commissioned to settle the articles of the treaty: the bishops of Ross, of Galloway, and lord Levingstone, were appointed, as her embassadors, by Mary; while the regent was required to name proper persons to appear on the part of the king. The earl of Morton, the abbot of Dunfermling, and sir James Macgill, were the persons chosen by Lennox. The protracted preparations for their journey accorded with the wishes of Elizabeth: they however at length arrived in London, where they met the commissioners of the rival queens, February 19th, 1571. The embassadors of Mary discovered by their compliances a sincere desire to accommodate every difference, and to accomplish the deliverance of their mistress. In vindication of their conduct, and in justification of their treatment of their queen, Morton and his associates spoke of the limited power of princes, and the natural right of subjects to resist and control them, in terms that could not fail of shocking Elizabeth, whose notions of the regal prerogative are sufficiently known. They also declared, that, with regard to the authority of the king, they neither had nor could have instructions to consent to any treaty by which

it might be subverted, or even impaired in the smallest degree. Nothing could be more absurd than this reply: the hand of Elizabeth had seated James on the throne, where her power upheld him: to whatever conditions she should think proper to prescribe, he could have no choice but submission. She however affected to consider this frivolous objection as altogether insuperable, and, furnished with a pretence, put a stop to the negociations, till the regent should think proper to send embassadors with greater powers. After having been deluded with the hope of liberty for ten months, the unhappy Mary beheld herself more strictly guarded, with no prospect of escape remaining to her: the friends who still adhered to her cause, were, without an ally or a protector, exposed to the fury of enemies, whom success had rendered insolent and ferocious.

The loss of Dunbarton followed, and the capture and death of Hamilton, archbishop of St. Andrew's, a severe blow to the faction of the queen, to which it afforded a pretence for the renewal of hostilities, which recommenced with additional fury. Kirkaldy, who, during the truce, had been careful to strengthen his garrison, declared, by a proclamation, the authority of the regent to be illegal and usurped. To this he added a command, that within six hours the fa-

vourers of Lennox should quit the town. He then seized the arms belonging to the citizens, planted a battery on the steeple of St. Giles, repaired the walls, fortified the gates of the city, and held out the metropolis against the regent. The duke, with other chiefs of the party, hastened with their followers to Edinburgh; and, having received from France some ammunition, with a small sum of money, formed an army within its walls. On the other side, Morton seized and fortified Leith, where the regent joined him with a body of troops. Daily skirmishes, with various success, took place between the armies.

A parliament had been, some time previous to these events, summoned by the regent to assemble in the liberties, though without the walls of Edinburgh, when Kirkaldy had endeavoured in vain to disturb their deliberations. Having passed an act, whereby Maitland, and some others, were attainted, they had adjourned from the 14th of May, 1571, to the 28th of August. The opposite faction, with the same shew of authority, followed this example. A declaration of the queen was produced on this occasion, of the invalidity of the deed by which she had resigned the crown; and an act was passed, pronouncing the resignation to have been extorted by fear, to be null in itself, and in all its consequences; and

enjoining the nation to acknowledge the queen as their lawful sovereign, and to support those who acted in her name. By another statute the establishment of the protestant religion was confirmed; and, in imitation of their adversaries, a new meeting appointed on the 26th of August.

During these transactions the kingdom was desolated by civil dissensions: friends and families were divided, and arranged under different standards: *king's-men* and *queen's-men* were the terms of political distinction, under which the ties of nature, and the sympathies of affection, were outraged and violated. To civil fury, religious rage, more bloody and unrelenting, added its terrors. The two great parties were subdivided by numberless distinctions and shades of difference, which their several chiefs sought to soften and unite. By Morton, the most able and powerful of the adherents of the king, a particular course was held: prompted by the court of England, he moved only according to its dictates, and thwarted every measure that might tend to conciliation; while, from the protection of Elizabeth, whom he served with fidelity, his power and credit received daily accession.

The time drew near for the meeting of the several parliaments: in that held in the name of the queen, which assembled at Edinburgh, three

peers and two bishops only appeared. With an authority so contemptible, they presumed to pass an act for the attainder of two hundred persons of the opposite party. The meeting at Stirling was numerous and splendid. Three earls, Argyle, Eglinton, and Cassils, who were among the most powerful nobles of the kingdom, and lord Boyd, who had been a commissioner of Mary at York and Westminster, zealous in her cause, and admitted to her most secret councils, were prevailed on by the regent to acknowledge the authority of the king. In turbulent periods, amidst the change of interest and the shifting of principle, when temptation abounds and varies its form, fidelity is rare, and consistency still rarer. This defection, which added strength to the regent, and reflected reputation on his cause, injured in proportion that of the queen. The parliament of Stirling, after the example of that of Edinburgh, framed acts against the faction of their adversaries. But, in the midst of their security, while confiding in their numbers, they were, early one morning, suddenly roused by the cries of the enemy in the centre of the town. The houses of every person of distinction were in an instant surrounded, while the regent, Argyle, Morton, Englinton, Cassils, and other noblemen, were seized as prisoners, and mounted behind

troopers, prepared to carry them with speed to Edinburgh. This daring blow, struck by Kirkaldy, might have for ever terminated the contest, and restored peace to his bleeding country, but for the too great solicitude of his friends respecting his personal safety. Having been prevailed on to decline conducting the enterprise, four hundred men, by his directions, set out from Edinburgh, and, commanded by Huntley, lord Claud Hamilton, and Scott of Buccleugh, marched towards the south, whence, wheeling to the right, horses being provided for the infantry, they rode straight to Stirling, on whose walls, which they reached by four in the morning, not a single sentry was posted, neither was any man awake about the place. From Morton only, among those whom they seized, did they meet any resistance. The obstinate courage with which he defended his house, obliged them to set it on fire; nor did he surrender till forced out by the flames. Some time necessarily elapsed in this siege, during which the private men, unused to discipline, left their colours, and began to rifle the shops and houses. The uproar quickly reached the castle, whence the earl of Mar sallied, with thirty soldiers, and fired briskly upon the enemy, of whom the officers only had kept together. The townsmen flew to arms in aid of their governor, and struck

into the assailants a panic dread. While some fled, others surrendered themselves to those who had recently been their prisoners: the borderers, who followed Scott, by carrying off all the horses prevented a pursuit, or not a man of their party would have escaped. The loss on the side of the king was inconsiderable, excepting by the death of the regent. Among the soldiers of the queen—"*Think on the archbishop of St. Andrew's*," was the word; and to his memory Lennox was made a sacrifice. The officer to whom he surrendered lost his life in his defence: that he was slain by the orders of lord Claud Hamilton was generally believed. This enterprise had been planned by Kirkaldy with consummate skill, prudence, and secrecy; its failure must be attributed to the desperate valour of Morton, and to the licentious irregularity of the troops of the assailants.

The assembled nobles proceeded without delay to the election of a new regent, for which office, Morton, Mar, and Argyle, were the candidates. A majority prevailed in favour of Mar, who had distinguished himself by his moderation, disinterestedness, and humanity: his power was inferior to that of Argyle, and his talents to those of Morton; circumstances which, by rendering him less formidable to the nobles, contributed to his elevation. His recent merit also, in having

rescued the party from certain destruction, added strength to his claim.

During these transactions in Scotland, the proceedings in England, not less interesting to Mary, proved more fatal to her cause. An act had been passed in the English parliament, by which, to claim any right to the crown while the queen was living, to prefer to hers the title of any other person, or to maintain that the parliament might not settle and limit the order of succession, were declared to be high treason. This statute was a blow aimed at the captive queen and her adherents. A treaty of marriage was also carrying on between Elizabeth and the duke of Anjou, a prince of the blood-royal of France; during which negociation the French court could not, with propriety, give open succour to the cause of the Scottish queen.

Thus circumstanced, Mary considered France, which she had hitherto looked to as her most powerful support, as already united to her enemy. Under this conviction, she turned her views towards Spain; with which, through the bishop of Ross, she already held a secret correspondence; and which had, from time to time, supplied both herself, and her friends in Scotland, with small pecuniary sums. Ridolphi, a Florentine gentleman, residing in London under the charac-

ter of a banker, but privately acting as an agent for the pope, was the person intrusted with this intrigue. The duke of Norfolk, on his promise of forbearing all farther intercourse with the queen of Scots, had been lately restored by Elizabeth to freedom. It was to him, without whose concurrence she took no step of importance, that Mary thought it necessary to communicate the secret of her negociation with Spain. In a long letter, written to him in cypher, she complained of the desertion of the French court; declared her resolution of imploring aid from Spain, now become her only resource; and recommended the Florentine to his confidence, as a person capable of advancing the scheme. This letter, which, after having decyphered, Norfolk commanded his secretary to burn, was, together with other treasonable papers, hid under the duke's own bed.

Norfolk had by a variety of motives and many arguments been induced to enter into the plot of Ridolphi, of which the English court had, from an intercepted agent, received some intimation; and which an accident at length completely discovered*. Betrayed by his own servants, on whose fidelity he relied, Norfolk, while con-

* See memoirs of Elizabeth.

fidently asserting his innocence, was confounded by the appearance of the hidden papers; and induced, by this unexpected treachery, to acknowledge his guilt, and throw himself on the clemency of the queen. But his offence was of too high a nature, and had been too frequently repeated, to hope for pardon. Elizabeth wished to give an example to her subjects, and to deter them from intriguing with the captive queen. Norfolk, tried by his peers, was found guilty, and expiated his offences on the scaffold. The bishop of Ross, the prime agent of Mary, was also taken into custody, his papers searched, and himself committed to the Tower, whence, after a long confinement, and rigorous treatment, he was liberated only on condition that he should quit the kingdom. The affairs of Mary suffered great detriment from these transactions; nor was she suffered, from that time, to have an embassador at the English court. The Spanish minister received a command to leave England. A stricter guard was set over the captive queen, the number of her domestics abridged, and no person permitted to see her but in the presence of her keepers.

Irritated by the attempt of Mary against her government, and foreseeing a tempest gathering on the continent, Elizabeth determined, without disguise, to embrace and assist the party of the

king. To the leaders of both factions this resolution was intimated. Henceforth, she told them, that she should consider Mary, who had conspired against her crown and life, as unworthy of protection, nor would she consent to restore her to freedom, far less to replace her on the throne. Having exhorted them, therefore, to unite in acknowledging the authority of the king, she engaged, by her mediation, to procure equitable terms for those by whom it had been hitherto opposed. To these promises, she added threats against those who should still remain refractory. Though an immediate effect was not produced by this declaration, it is certain, that, by so explicit a discovery of the sentiments of Elizabeth, the hopes of one party was animated in the same proportion as those of the other were depressed.

Kirkaldy still held out the town and castle of Edinburgh, while the forces of the regent lay at Leith. Both parties, avoiding a decisive engagement, harassed each other by skirmishes and attacks; till, by the perpetual exercise and agitation of their passions, they were wrought up to a degree of savage fury. The laws of war and of humanity were alike trampled under foot; nor was the animosity of the different factions confined to the field: the prisoners taken on either side were, whatever might be their quality or rank,

hanged without mercy and without a trial. Fifty of these wretched victims were led at a time to execution; the country seemed in danger of depopulation; nor was it till after both sides had severely suffered, that this barbarous practice was discontinued. The inhabitants of the town and castle began at length to suffer for want of provisions; the enemy having destroyed all the mills in the neighbourhood of the city, and planted in every house of strength small garrisons. A suspension of hostilities, procured by the mediation of the English and French embassadors, could only have preserved them from the misery of famine.

A defensive alliance had been entered into between the crowns of England and France: the two kingdoms, in consequence of this treaty, affected to act in concert in the affairs of Scotland. The truce procured by them, while it afforded a seasonable relief to the friends of Mary in the south, proved fatal to her adherents in the north, where a superiority had been still maintained by the efforts of sir Adam Gordon. That part of the kingdom would in a short time probably have submitted to the queen, but for the suspension of hostilities.

But notwithstanding the gallantry and success of Gordon, the interest of Mary was evidently declining, both in her own country, and in that of

her rival, whose jealousy of foreigners made them regard with abhorrence her negociations with the court of Spain. The parliament, which met in May, 1572, having proceeded against the queen of Scots as the most dangerous enemy to the kingdom, brought in a bill to declare her guilty of high treason, and to deprive her of the right of succeeding to the crown. To the mortification suffered by Mary from these severe proceedings in England, was added that of the neglect of her continental allies. The duke of Montmorency, who came over from the French king, for the purpose of ratifying the league with England, contented himself with demanding for the captive queen only a slight mitigation of the rigours of her imprisonment; and even this request was urged with so little warmth, that it was productive of no consequence.

Elizabeth, gratified by the alliance with France, from which she promised herself an increase of security, turned her whole attention towards Scotland. But while she laboured to effect an agreement between the contending parties, an event took place in France which filled Europe with horror. The huguenots, whom promises of safety and favour had allured to the court and capital of the kingdom, were, in one barbarous and

undistinguishing carnage, devoted to general destruction*. By the protestants this massacre was considered but as the prelude to some more effectual blow, in a general conspiracy against their sect, by the princes of the Romish church. This notion was supported by too many facts not to operate against the cause of Mary: her attachment to a religion by which its votaries were allowed to violate their faith with the enemies of their church, could not fail to lay a foundation of just distrust. Against the league formed to overthrow the reformation, a general confederacy of its adherents could only be opposed: a strict union with Elizabeth, and the concurrence of both nations, appeared necessary to a defence of the common cause.

Of this conjuncture of affairs, the regent availed himself, for the purpose of negociating a general peace; nor could his efforts have failed of success, but for the jealousy of Morton, whose pretensions to the regency having suffered a disappointment, he had never forgiven his rival the defeat: by his wealth, his abilities, and the patronage of England, he was enabled but too successfully to thwart every pacific and conciliating measure. With him all those of the queen's

* See memoirs of Catherine de Medicis.

party, who were in the possession of lands, gladly concurred. The miseries of civil war were thus protracted by the ambition and avarice of an interested few.

The regent, who loved his country, and whose integrity had even procured him the confidence of his enemies, beheld the odious selfishness of his party, which still frustrated his most patriotic plans, with a grief and mortification that seized on his spirits, and gradually conducted him to the tomb. On the 29th of October, 1572, he fell a victim to the difficulties of his situation, and expired, regretted and esteemed by the virtuous of both factions, who united in the acknowledgment of his honour and his worth.

Morton, supported by Elizabeth, and against whom no competitor ventured to appear, was, notwithstanding the fears of the people and the jealousy of the nobles, put in possession of the vacant office, and made the fourth who, in the space of five years, had been elected to the regency.

Knox, the prime instrument of the establishment of the reformation in Scotland, expired towards the latter end of this year, on the 27th of November, and in the sixty-seventh year of his age. His eulogium was pronounced by the earl of Morton, who was present at his funeral, and

who had often smarted from his temerity, in a few words:—'There lies one,' said he, 'who never feared the face of man.'

Morton, though not from the generous motives that had influenced the former regent, began at length to labour in earnest for peace. Those calamities and confusions to which he had heretofore owed his power, had in his present station become detrimental to his interest. His authority as regent, while so many of the nobility continued in arms against him, was necessarily enfeebled and rendered precarious. Nor was Elizabeth less earnest to extinguish the fires she had kindled. Her confidence in France had been broken by the late event: to this was added a warning by her embassador, that the French held correspondence with the adherents of Mary in Scotland, whom they encouraged in their disaffection to the existing government. The duke of Alva also, with less disguise, carried on his intrigues, and meditated an invasion of the kingdom. To unite the two parties, appeared to Elizabeth the only safe method by which these projects could be frustrated.

The friends of Mary were divided into two factions, at the head of one of which were Chatelherault and Huntley; while Maitland and Kirkaldy were the leaders of the other. The first

overtures were made by the regent to the latter, with whom he laboured to renew the negociation, which, by his own artifices, had been formerly set aside. His purposes and system of government were known to Kirkaldy; while by Maitland he was considered as a personal and implacable enemy. With a view to gain time, and to put in practice other plans, they encouraged the advances of Morton, and proposed conditions which his interest prompted him to reject. The regent saw through their designs, and the snares which beset his path. All hopes of accommodation of course vanished.

Kirkaldy, at the expiration of the truce, began to fire on the city of Edinburgh, which, by the return of its expelled inhabitants, was once more in the cause of the king. But with Chatelherault and Huntley, with whom a treaty was now set on foot, the cessation of arms still continued. Less scrupulous than the other party, they had listened eagerly to the overtures of the regent. The approach of old age had increased the natural instability and indolence of the duke. Five years had civil war desolated Scotland, nor had its ruinous consequences served the cause of the queen. Neither party had gained honour, and both had been sufferers: in wasting the estates of their adversaries, they had exhausted and destroyed their own. The misery of

the people led them to long for a peace. Towards this desirable end, a great step was taken by the treaty concluded at Perth, between Chatelherault and the regent, under the mediation of Killegrew the English embassador. All parties comprehended in this treaty were to declare their approbation of the reformed religion; to submit to the government of the king, to own the authority of the regent, and to acknowledge that every thing, since the coronation of James, done in opposition to it was illegal. The prisoners on both sides were to be liberated, and the lands restored to their proper owners. The act of attainder passed against the adherents of the queen was to be repealed, and indemnity granted for all the offences of which they had been guilty since June, 1567. The treaty was also to be ratified in parliament, by the common consent of both parties, February 23, 1573.

Though abandoned by his associates, Kirkaldy lost not his courage, nor did he entertain any thoughts of accommodation. Though all Scotland had now submitted to the king, he still resolved, in the name of the queen, to defend the castle, and to wait for the arrival of foreign succours. The regent was not provided for carrying on a siege, till Elizabeth, anxious to terminate the dissensions in Scotland before France should find leisure to interfere, supplied all his wants. Sir William Drury, with

fifteen hundred foot, and a train of artillery, marched into Scotland, and joined the forces of Morton; when the trenches were opened by the combined troops, and approaches regularly made against the castle. The gallant Kirkaldy, notwithstanding the loss of a sum of money, remitted to him from France, and betrayed by treachery into the hands of Morton, defended himself with a spirit augmented by despair. The efforts of the besiegers, who, with emulative courage, pushed on their attacks, were for three-and-thirty days, bravely resisted: nor did the besieged demand a parley, till the fortifications were battered down, one of the wells in the castle dried up, and the other choaked with rubbish. Even then the mind of Kirkaldy was unsubdued, and he determined rather to fall gloriously behind the last entrenchments, than to yield to his inveterate enemies. This heroic, though rash, resolution was opposed by a mutiny in his garrison, which, rising up in a body, forced him to capitulate. Kirkaldy surrendered himself, May 29th, to Drury, the English general, who, in the name of his mistress, promised him favourable treatment. James Kirkaldy his brother, Maitland, lord Hume, sir Robert Melvil, a few citizens of Edinburgh, and about one hundred and sixty soldiers, were made prisoners on this occasion.

Thus was the civil war brought to a termination;

and even the shadow of sovereignty, which, amidst all her sufferings, had still remained to Mary, totally destroyed. She was no longer allowed to have an embassador in England, the only dignity which she had for some time retained. Henceforth she must be considered as an exile, stripped of all the ensigns of royalty, guarded with jealousy in one kingdom, and deserted and forgotten in the other.

Kirkaldy and his brave associates remained in the hands of Drury, by whom they were treated with respect and humanity, till their fate should be determined by Elizabeth. By the regent it was insisted, that they should be given up to the punishment due to their obstinacy and rebellion; nor should he, he declared, think himself in safety so long as they were allowed to live. Without regarding the honour of Drury, or his promises made in her name, Elizabeth basely yielded these heroes, so deserving of a better fate, into the hands of their implacable enemy; who first confined them in separate prisons, and afterwards, with the consent of the queen of England, condemned the Kirkaldys to an ignominious death. Maitland, who expected not more favourable treatment, disappointed the malice of his persecutors by withdrawing himself from their rage. "He ended his days," says Melvil, "after the old Roman fashion."

Mary bewailed in prison, with vain lamentations,

those friends whom the regent sacrificed to his vengeance; while confinement, sorrow, and hope deferred, gradually undermined her health. At the intercession of the French embassador, lord Shrewsbury, her keeper, was permitted to carry her to Buxton-wells, which were at no great distance from the place of her imprisonment. In the course of that year, 1573, the recal of the duke of Alva from the Netherlands, whence he had negociated with the captive queen, relieved Elizabeth from a portion of her disquietudes.

Notwithstanding the tranquillity which now took place in Scotland, it required all the ability and vigour of the regent to re-establish order and security in the kingdom. But the reputation due to this salutary service was sullied by the extortions mingled in its performance: these exactions became even more pernicious than the evils which they restrained. Spies and informers were employed and encouraged, old offences revived, small trespasses exaggerated, and crimes compounded for by the payment of exorbitant fines. The current coin was also debased, and all the refinements of oppression brought into practice. The grievances of the clergy, which had before been of sufficient magnitude, were aggravated and multiplied; while the scanty fund allowed for their support was seized on by the insatiable avarice of the regent.

The death of the duke of Chatelherault, which took place in the beginning of the year 1575, proved an additional misfortune to Mary: his title, as next heir to the crown, had served to counterbalance the ascendancy of the regent, the weight of whose oppressions began now to extend to the nobles, whose dignity was unable to defend them from his power. A contest between two of their order, in which he had thought proper to interfere, made a deep impression on their minds, and drew on him future vengeance. The Scottish nobility, whose power had vied with that of their monarchy, beheld with indignation the arbitrary proceedings of a regent; while the people, little accustomed to the burthen of taxes, loudly complained of his rapacity. All eyes were turned for a redress of their grievances towards the young king, and the return of a milder and more equal government.

James, now in the twelfth year of his age, had, soon after his birth, been committed to the care of the earl of Mar, and had resided during the civil wars in safety at the castle of Stirling. Under the celebrated Buchanan, and three other preceptors, the most eminent which the nation afforded for their skill in the sciences, the prince made a considerable progress in learning, for which he early displayed a predilection. The Scotch already beheld in their future monarch all those talents and virtues, which

the people, with fond credulity, are prone to discover in princes during the period of their minority. The youth of James prevented the regent from attending to the popular sentiment, or calculating on its probable consequences. He neglected to conciliate the friendship of those whose offices fixed them near the person of James, and even exasperated some of them by personal injuries. By this impolitic conduct, an early jealousy of his power and intentions was infused into the mind of the young king. The rigour with which Morton swayed the reins of administration, was unknown to the ancient monarchs of Scotland: the nation, groaning under his oppressions, were ready to welcome a milder government. These with other arguments were assiduously suggested to James, upon whose mind they failed not to make a strong impression. A plot was set on foot by the enemies of Morton for the purpose of effecting his overthrow.

The commons, the clergy, and the city of Edinburgh, had been alike alienated from him by his multiplied oppressions. Elizabeth, occupied by the affairs of the Netherlands, had little leisure to attend to Scotland; in which, having nothing at present to fear from France, she was not displeased to behold the rise of new factions. The falling fortunes of Morton were abandoned by the nobles of his party;

the people rejoiced in the prospect of his disgrace; while a variety of circumstances combined to his ruin. In the presence of the assembled nation he resigned to the king the ensigns of his power: the acclamations of the multitude testified their satisfaction, and convinced him that he had forfeited the confidence of his country. Having obtained from James an act of indemnity for the past, he retired to one of his country seats, to which the people gave the name of the *Lion's Den*, with a mind deeply wounded by deserved humiliation. His wealth and abilities still rendered him formidable; while, guided by disappointed ambition, and intent on schemes for the re-establishment of his power, he cherished a restless and gloomy disquietude. A council of twelve peers was appointed to assist the king in the administration of affairs: impatient to strip the fallen regent of his last remains of power, they required him to surrender the castle of Edinburgh, of which he still retained the possession. He refused a compliance with this requisition, and began to prepare for defence and resistance, when the citizens of Edinburgh took up arms, and obliged him for the present to submit to his destiny.

On the assumption of the government into his own hands, James dispatched an envoy to inform Elizabeth of the event, to offer a renewal of the alliance between the two kingdoms, and to demand

possession of the estates of his grandmother, the countess of Lennox, lately deceased.

Mary, about this period, sent, by Naué her secretary, a letter to her son, with a present of jewels, and an embroidered vest. But as the title of prince of Scotland only was given him, the messenger was dismissed without being admitted to the royal presence.

On Morton's resignation of the regency, the act of indemnity which he had obtained of James was worded with a scrupulous exactness, that seemed to preclude any future danger. The only crime which could not with decency have been inserted in a pardon granted by his son, was the murder of the late king; a circumstance of which the enemies of the regent failed not to avail themselves. Captain Stewart, a favourite of James, a man of profligate morals, and shameless effrontery, having entered the council-chamber, before the king and the assembled nobles, fell on his knees, and charged Morton with being an accessory in the conspiracy against their late monarch; while he offered, under the usual penalties, to verify this accusation. Morton, who was present, and who had in a great degree retained his ascendancy, heard the charge with firmness, and replied to it with disdain; declaring, 'that his known zeal in punishing those who were suspected of that detestable crime, might

well exempt him from such suspicions: nevertheless, he would cheerfully submit to a trial, either in that place or in any other court; when he doubted not but his innocence, and the malice of his enemies, would appear in the clearest and most unequivocal light.' Stewart, still kneeling, was proceeding in his allegations, when the king put a stop to the contest.

Morton was first confined to his own house, and afterwards committed to the castle of Edinburgh, of which his enemy, Erskine, was governor. He was soon after removed to Dunbarton, where Lennox held the command. The kinsmen of Morton, believing a conspiracy formed against their house, were ready to take up arms in his defence; but, declaring, that he would rather suffer ten thousand deaths than, by seeming to decline the trial, bring an imputation on his own character, he strictly forbade their interference.

Elizabeth, alarmed by these circumstances, and the contempt with which her former interposition had been treated, warmly interested herself in the fate of Morton, to whom she owed so many essential services. Having dispatched Randolph as her embassador to Scotland, she ordered a considerable body of troops to assemble on its borders. Randolph, after a forcible remonstrance, and an enumeration of the benefits owed by James to England, declared, in the name of his mistress, that if any zeal for reli-

gion remained among the nobles of Scotland, if they wished for the continuance of the friendship of England, or if they valued the privileges of their own order, they must remove Lennox from the presence of the king, rescue Morton from the hands of his avowed enemies, and secure to him a fair and impartial trial. To this he added, that if force were necessary towards the accomplishment of a design, so salutary to the king and kingdom, he was commissioned to promise them the aid and protection of his mistress.

Nor were these the only means essayed by Elizabeth to preserve Morton from the destruction which menaced him. But every attempt proving unavailing, the English embassador was compelled to abandon Scotland, while both kingdoms wore an hostile aspect. The greater the solicitude displayed by Elizabeth for the deliverance of Morton, the more inveterate became the rage of his adversaries: to the fate that he had reason to expect, was added the bitter mortification of beholding Stewart, his enemy and accuser, as a recompence for the malice which had contributed to his ruin, laden with high and undeserved honours.

The whole proceedings during the trial appear to have been equally irregular, violent, and unjust: large bodies of armed men were drawn up by his adversaries in different parts of the city; the jury was composed of the prisoner's avowed enemies, and, though he challenged some of them,

his objections were over-ruled. After a short consultation, he was found guilty of concealing, and of being *art and part* in the conspiracy against the late king. At the first part of the verdict he seemed not surprised, but, having twice repeated with vehemence the words *art and part*, 'God knows,' exclaimed he, 'it is not so!' The doom decreed by the law against traitors was pronounced; but the cruel and ignominious part of the sentence was remitted by the king, who appointed that he should be beheaded on the ensuing day.

During this terrible interval, Morton displayed the force of his mind; he supped cheerfully, passed a part of the night in sleep, and employed the remainder in acts of devotion. To the minister who attended him, and who dealt plainly with him respecting his offences, he made the following confession in regard to the crime for which he suffered:—On his return from England, after the death of Rizzio, Bothwell, he acknowledged, had informed him of the conspiracy against the king, which the queen, he assured him, knew of and approved. That, being solicited to concur in the execution of the project, he absolutely declined any interference. That, soon after, Bothwell himself, and Archibald Douglass in his name, had renewed their importunity to the same purpose: that he had then required from them a warrant, under the queen's hand, authorising the attempt: that this warrant having never been

produced, he had refused to have any farther concern in the business. 'But,' added he, 'since I neither consented to this treasonable act, nor assisted in its commission, it was not possible for me either to reveal or to prevent it. To whom could I make the discovery? The queen, they told me, was the author of the enterprise. Darnly was such a changeling, that to him no secret could be safely communicated. Huntley and Bothwell, who bore the chief sway in the kingdom, were themselves the perpetrators of the crime.'

When Morton was told by his keepers, that the guards were attending, and that all things were in readiness for the closing scene of his life, 'I praise my God,' said he, 'I am ready likewise.' These guards were commanded by Stewart; an insult which his enemies might well have spared. The behaviour of the prisoner on the scaffold was calm; his countenance and his voice unaltered. After some minutes spent in devotion, he suffered death with a courage which reflected honour upon his memory. His head was exposed on the public gaol of Edinburgh; and his body, after lying till evening upon the scaffold, was covered with a cloak, and, by common porters, cast into the usual burial-place for criminals. His friends dared not accompany it to the grave, or shew any marks of respect to his remains.

While Scotland was rent by faction, and disturbed by new revolutions, the rumour of a project for setting

Mary at liberty awakened the fears of Elizabeth. Among the papers of Francis Throgmorton, a gentleman of Cheshire, who had been taken into custody on suspicion, were found two lists; one of the principal harbours of the kingdom, their situation, depth of water, &c.; the other, of all the eminent Romanists in England. Throgmorton at first boldly averred his innocence, and endured the rack with fortitude. But brought a second time to this horrid engine, his courage failed him: having confessed a secret correspondence with the captive queen, he made a discovery of a design for the invasion of England, an enterprise that was to be conducted by the duke of Guise. By command of Mendoza, the Spanish embassador, who was the soul of the party, he had made the two lists, the copies of which had been found in his possession. Having retracted this confession at his trial, and returned to it again after sentence passed on him, he once more retracted at the place of execution.

The close understanding which at that time subsisted between Philip and the house of Guise, rendered this project credible to Elizabeth, however improbable it may appear in the present age, when history and time have thrown upon the subject many new lights. To the queen of England, conscious how ardently her downfal was desired by all the parties mentioned in the confession of Throgmorton,

it appeared a part of prudence to guard against their designs. By the zeal of the English exiles her fears were increased. Not satisfied with declaiming against her severity to Mary, and her persecution of her catholic subjects, while one pope had threatened her with the excommunication, which another had actually pronounced, they began to disperse books and writings, in which to take away the life of Elizabeth was represented as meritorious, and even her maids of honour were openly exhorted to treat her as Judith did Holifernes, and by a deed so beneficial to render their own names illustrious. Thus instigated, Elizabeth punished Throgmorton as a traitor, and commanded the Spanish embassador instantly to leave the kingdom. To preserve herself from the danger of internal attacks, she determined to regain her influence over the Scottish council; which she effected by gaining Stewart to her party. A man so unprincipled, hated by his fellow-subjects, and holding his power on the precarious favour of a prince, was glad to avail himself of the protection offered to him, for which he promised the most perfect devotion.

Fruitless negociations were still carrying on in England between Elizabeth and her captive, whom she continued to amuse with the prospect of liberation, and by this means to elude the interference of foreign powers. These treaties, which a pretence

was never wanted to break, were alternately revived and lost. The negociation now on foot, perhaps not more sincere than those by which it had been preceded, was however interrupted by more ostensible reasons.

Crichton, a Jesuit, sailing from Flanders towards Scotland, was chased by pirates, which frequently infested those seas. He tore in pieces, in his confusion, some papers intrusted to his care, and threw them from him. By a singular accident, the wind blew them back into the ship, where they were taken up by some of the passengers, and carried to Wade, the clerk of the privy-council. Having with great patience joined the fragments together, Wade found them to contain the account of the plot said to have been formed by the duke of Guise for the invasion of England. The people, not yet recovered from their panic respecting the confessions of Throgmorton, considered these papers as a confirmation of the plot. Every former apprehension was renewed, while ageneral consternation pervaded the kingdom. The pity which the situation of Mary had excited, became diminished by these repeated alarms, of which she was continually the subject or the source. Hatred in the minds of the English, thus continually agitated by fear, succeeded to a generous compassion: under the wise and pacific reign of Elizabeth, the people enjoyed advantages

unknown to their ancestors; their prosperity had endeared to them their queen; while in her safety their own interest was involved. Thus irritated against the Scottish queen and her adherents, it was judged necessary, by some public deed, to convince the enemies of Elizabeth of the attachment of her people, and the danger which must attend every attempt formed against her. With this view, an association was formed, October 19, 1584, the subscribers to which bound themselves, by a solemn oath, "to defend their queen against all her enemies, foreign and domestic; and, if violence should be offered to her life, with a view of favouring the title of any pretender to the crown, they not only engaged never to allow or acknowledge such persons, but vowed, in the presence of the eternal God, to prosecute them to the death, and to pursue them, with vengeance, to their utter extirpation." This combination was, with great eagerness, subscribed by persons of every rank.

Mary, justly concluding this measure to be the forerunner of her destruction, made such efforts as still remained in her power to avert the threatened danger. Naué, her secretary, was sent to court, with offers of resignation to the will of Elizabeth, which not all her former sufferings had been able to extort. These concessions were, however, of little avail: by a rival predetermined in her judgment, and con-

scious of having exceeded the bounds of forgiveness, the sincerity of her resignation was doubted, as her firmness had been previously imputed to obstinacy. Yet such was the nature of her present offers, that even Walsingham urged his mistress to come to an accommodation. But Elizabeth, who imputed the conduct of Mary to the spirit excited by the late association, who suspected her of a dangerous correspondence with the catholics, and who saw in her actions a mysterious duplicity, was deaf to every solicitation in her favour. Nor were her suspicions altogether unfounded. A letter had, about this period, been written by the queen of Scots to sir Francis Inglefield, in which she pressed him to accelerate the execution of the *great plot or designment*, without hesitating respecting any dangers in which it might involve her life, which she would willingly sacrifice, if by that means relief could be procured for the oppressed children of the church.

Far from mitigating the hardships under which her captive suffered, Elizabeth took her out of the hands of the earl of Shrewsbury, who, while he had discharged his trust with fidelity, during fifteen years, had uniformly treated his prisoner with gentleness and respect. Sir Amias Paulet and sir Drue Drury, men of harsher manners and inferior rank, were now appointed to be her keepers. Their severe vigilance was, perhaps, their only recommendation

to the employment conferred upon them, and the only claim which they had to preferment.

The master of Gray, a new favourité of James's, was, in the mean time, employed as his embassador to England, and intrusted with a negociation against the banished nobles, whom his master wished to deprive of the protection of Elizabeth. For this honour he was indebted to the jealousy of Stewart, who wished to send him from the court. Gray, who to a boundless ambition added an intriguing spirit, had, during a residence in France, been admitted to the confidence of the duke of Guise; to gain whose favour he had embraced the Romish religion, and declared himself a partisan of the captive queen, with whom he maintained a secret correspondence. On his return to Scotland, he had, by his graceful person, accomplishments, and address, made a forcible impression on the heart of the king, to whom he had been introduced by Stewart, who quickly began to dread his growing favour. Elizabeth having, by her penetration, discovered the character of the master of Gray, availed herself of his versatility, his vanity, and his profuseness, and easily secured him in her interest. Under her direction, to which he abandoned himself without reserve, he undertook to secure the king under the influence of England, and to act as a spy upon the captive queen, whose secrets he basely betrayed to her oppressor. Elizabeth, by whom the

banished nobles were no longer regarded, yielded their interests to the solicitations of Gray, who thus advanced the purposes of James, and increased his own reputation.

While Scotland groaned under the tyranny of Stewart, its sister kingdom was in perpetual alarms. No sooner had one conspiracy against Elizabeth been detected and rendered abortive, than another sprang up in its place. Parry, a member of the house of commons, and a doctor of laws, a man recently reconciled to the church of Rome, and filled with the zeal of a new convert, determined, by the murder of a heretic queen, to demonstrate his attachment to his new faith. His plan being at length revealed, by the only person in England to whom he had voluntarily confessed it, he suffered the punishment of his frantic folly.

The indignation of the English parliament, awakened by the repetition of these tragic farces, produced an extraordinary statute, which terminated in the destruction of the queen of Scots. The association in defence of the life of Elizabeth was ratified by this law, which farther enacted, "that if any rebellion should be excited in the kingdom, or any thing attempted to the hurt of her majesty's person, *by or for* any one pretending a title to the crown, the queen should empower twenty-four persons, by a commission under the great seal, to examine into,

and pass sentence upon such offences; and, after judgment given, a proclamation should be issued, declaring the persons whom they should find guilty, excluded from any right to the crown; and her majesty's subjects may lawfully pursue every one of them to the death, with all their aiders and abettors," &c. &c. Mary was by this act, which was evidently levelled against her, made not only accountable for her own actions, but unjustly responsible for those of others.

Books were also suffered to be published, in order to persuade the nation of the propriety and justice of this barbarous measure, which was justly considered by Mary as a warning to prepare for her fate. Even the short period which remained of her days was embittered by multiplied hardships and indignities. Her servants were almost all dismissed; she was no longer treated with the respect due to a queen; and her health, broken by the rigour of seventeen years of captivity, exposed to suffer from the inclemency of the elements, in two ruinous chambers, scarcely habitable in the midst of summer, to which she was confined. She had been accustomed, notwithstanding her narrow revenue, to distribute regular alms among the poor inhabitants of the village which adjoined to the castle. This humane office, from which, amidst her own sufferings, she had derived some amusement and consolation, was

now denied to her. The fortress in which she resided was converted into a common prison, and a young man, suspected of popery, confined and treated, under her own eye, with a severity that occasioned his death. It was in vain that, as a woman and a queen, she complained to Elizabeth of these injuries and indignities: no longer obliged by political reasons to amuse her by false hopes, or mitigate the hardships she endured, her complaints and her remonstrances were alike disregarded. The solicitations of the king of France, who depended on Elizabeth for assistance, in behalf of the unhappy Mary, were feeble, formal, and without effect. But Castlenau, his embassador, whose compassion for the captive queen supplied the defects of his instructions, remonstrated against the indignities to which she was exposed, with a force and importunity that compelled, at length, a degree of attention. Though detained the greater part of another winter in her present wretched abode, Mary was, in compliance with his intreaties, removed afterwards to Tutbury.

But neither the insults of her enemies, nor the negligence of her friends, touched the heart of Mary so deeply as the ingratitude of her son. He had hitherto treated his mother with respect, and even given umbrage to Elizabeth by negociating in her favour. This good correspondence between the

mother and son was not to the interest of the rival of the former, who found means, through the influence of Gray, on his return to Scotland, when his favour with the king greatly increased, to prevail upon James to change his conduct. A letter from her son, harsh and undutiful, in which he refused to acknowledge her title as queen of Scotland, or to consider his affairs as connected with hers, completed the sorrows and despair of Mary. "Was it for this," said she, in a letter to the French embassador, overwhelmed by this cruel blow, "was it for this that I have endured so much, in order to preserve for him the inheritance to which I have a just right? I am far from envying his authority in Scotland. I desire no power there; nor wish to set my foot in that kingdom, if it were not for the pleasure of once embracing a son, whom I have hitherto loved with too tender an affection. Whatever he either enjoys or expects, he derived it from me. From him I never received assistance, supply, nor benefit, of any kind. Let not my allies treat him any longer as a king; he holds that dignity by my consent; and if a speedy repentance does not appease my just resentment, I will load him with a parent's curse, and surrender my crown, with all my pretensions, to one who will receive them with gratitude, and defend them with vigour." James had been taught to consider his mother as an un-

principled and abandoned woman, an adulteress and a murderer, it cannot therefore be supposed that he regarded her with respect or affection. Whether attachment to the Romish religion, or indignation at the conduct of her son, really prompted Mary to any serious idea of disinheriting him, it would not at present be easy to determine.

The *League* which took place about this period (1585) in France, and which had for its end the destruction of the Reformation, rendered the situation of Elizabeth peculiarly critical, and determined her to proceed with rigour against the captive queen, whose sufferings afforded a pretence for the invasion of her kingdom. With this view, she endeavoured to draw closer the union between England and Scotland, and to extend her influence over the councils of the latter. The Scottish courtiers were with little difficulty induced to promote her designs; while, to direct and quicken their motions, sir Edmund Wotton, a gay and accomplished man, well fitted for the purpose of his mistress, was dispatched by her to the court of James, with orders to insinuate himself into the favour of the young king. Wotton, who beneath a polished and specious exterior, concealed a dangerous and intriguing spirit, and who had resided a long time in foreign countries, amused the monarch by the relation of his ad-

ventures; while, excelling in all the exercises for which James had a passion, he quickly acquired his friendship and confidence.

The rapid progress of the *League* seemed to call on the protestants for union and firmness; nothing therefore could be more acceptable to the Scots than the proposal of Wotton for an alliance between the two kingdoms, in support of the principles of their common faith. James having embraced the overture with fervor, the convention of the states, which empowered him to conclude the treaty, engaged to ratify it in parliament. Elizabeth had, on this occasion, to conciliate her young ally, and as a mark of her maternal affection, settled on him an annual pension of five thousand pounds, the sum allotted by her father to herself before she ascended the throne. This present, far from inconsiderable in those times, could not but prove acceptable to a monarch, whose revenues had, during a long minority, been nearly dissipated.

But the ruin of Arran, whose government was odious to the nation, and in whose character Elizabeth could place but little confidence, was the principal object of the intrigues of Wotton. This, with the assistance of the banished lords, who were still attached to England, he earnestly endeavoured to effect.

A plot was also set on foot for seizing the person of the king, whom it was the design of Wotton to carry forcibly into England. The discovery of this atrocious design, obliged him to depart precipitately from the kingdom, to avoid the punishment due to his treachery.

In the mean time the banished lords, who had by the permission of Elizabeth returned to the borders, entered Scotland, and were joined by their friends and vassals. Welcomed wherever they came, as the deliverers of their country, the most fervent prayers were offered up for their success. At the head of ten thousand men they proceeded towards Stirling, without losing a moment. The king, the loyalty of whose troops, though superior in number, was more than doubtful, dared not advance to meet the insurgents. Neither the town nor castle was provided for a siege; the gates, however, of both were closed. On the same night the town was betrayed into the hands of the lords; and Stewart, who had been restored to freedom, and who had undertaken the defence of the place, compelled to save himself by flight. The castle, which was invested on the ensuing morning, had not provision for four-and-twenty hours. James, therefore, found himself compelled to listen to terms of accommodation. A pardon was obtained by the lords for all their offences, and the principal forts in the kingdom placed

as securities in their hands; when a parliament was called to establish tranquillity in the nation. (Dec. 10, 1785.) Satisfied with procuring an act by which they were restored to their ancient honours and possessions, the confederated nobles behaved with moderation, seemed willing to forget all former offences, and to spare their king unnecessary mortification. Stewart only was deprived of his honours, and stripped of his ill-gotten spoils: being declared an enemy to his country, by public proclamation, he sunk back into his original obscurity. His prosperity had been wholly unmerited, and his fall was beheld without sympathy or pity.

In all these revolutions, the grievances of the clergy were yet unredressed: the nobles forgot their promises in their fear of disgusting the king; while to the interest of the laity, the claims of the church, notwithstanding its loud and vehement complaints, still continued to be made the sacrifice.

The alliance between England and Scotland, proposed the preceding year, met with no interruption, in the present state of affairs, but from the French minister. James himself offered to renew the negociation; nor did Elizabeth suffer the opportunity to escape, but instantly dispatched Randolph to conclude the desired treaty. Both parties bound themselves to defend the reformed religion against the

popish powers combined for its overthrow; and mutually to assist each other, offensively and defensively, against all who should endeavour to disturb or invade them. Elizabeth, at the same time, assured the Scottish monarch, that no step should be taken in any degree derogatory to his pretensions to the English succession. The violence of national antipathy was so far abated, by religious zeal, and the advantages of peace which both kingdoms had of late enjoyed, that the conduct of James in this alliance appeared every-where acceptable to his own people.

A conspiracy took place, not long after these events, through the blind affection of the English catholics to Mary, and their implacable hatred against Elizabeth; that, while it proved fatal to the life of one queen, has left on the memory of the other an indelible stain. An extravagant notion had been adopted by some priests *, that the bull, fulminated by Pius V. against Elizabeth, had been dictated immediately by the Holy Ghost. This notion they had instilled into Savage (for what is too absurd for fanaticism to impose or to receive?), an officer in the Spanish army, more famed for zeal and courage than temper and good sense. This man

* Dr. Gifford, Gilbert Gifford, and Hodgson.

suffered himself to be persuaded by the priests, that to take away the life of an excommunicated heretic, would be performing to Heaven an acceptable service. To obtain the crown of martyrdom, Savage bound himself in a vow of murder: Ballard, another priest, who was solicitous for the invasion of England, and persuaded that, to render the attempt successful, Elizabeth must first be cut off, was concerned in the plot, which he revealed in confidence to Anthony Babington, a young gentleman of Derbyshire, possessing a large fortune, and many amiable qualities, whom the archbishop of Glasgow had recommended to the notice of Mary. This young man concurred in opinion, that the death of Elizabeth was a necessary preliminary to any invasion. To him Ballard imparted the vow of Savage, who waited in London an opportunity to strike the blow. Babington, believing that for an enterprise of such importance it would be rash to rely on a single arm, proposed that five resolute gentlemen should be joined with Savage; while he engaged to find persons worthy of the trust. The project was accordingly unfolded to Edward Windsor, Thomas Salisbury, Charles Tilney, Chidise Tichbourne, Robert Gage, John Travers, Robert Barnwell, John Charnock, Henry Donne, John Jones, and Robert Polly; all of them, excepting the latter, whose for-

ward zeal had recommended him to the associates, men of good families, united in the bonds of friendship, to which the tie of religion gave additional strength. After various consultations, the plan of operation was at length settled, and the different parts assigned to the actors. Babington was appointed to liberate the captive queen; Salisbury, with some others, were to excite their friends to arms; while to Savage and Tichbourne, with four associates, the murder of Elizabeth was assigned. This atrocious action, viewed through the medium of an imagination heated by frantic bigotry, appeared to men of rank and honour as just and honourable: such influence have the passions over the principles of mankind. In order to perpetuate the memory of the transaction, they imprudently caused a picture to be drawn, in which were the portraits of the six assassins, with that of Babington in the midst of them; and a motto intimating, that they were jointly embarked in some perilous design.

While the conspirators were thus confident of secrecy and success, every measure which they took was revealed to Walsingham. Robert Polly was one of his spies, who had joined himself to the band with a determination to betray his associates. Gilbert Gifford, also having been gained by Walsingham, gave him information of all that was transacting. The discovery was by the vigilant

Walsingham immediately communicated to Elizabeth, who determined to wait, for the better understanding of the plot, till it should be more perfectly formed, and ready for execution.

August 4th, 1586, Ballard, the prime mover of the project, was arrested; when his associates, filled with surprise and dismay, endeavoured to save themselves by flight. But all of them, excepting Windsor, were seized within a few days, in different parts of the kingdom, and committed to the Tower; where, influenced by fear or hope, they made a full confession. Their trial was hastened by the impatience of the people; when they suffered the punishment due to their offences.

The views of Elizabeth and her ministers respecting this transaction, extended beyond the destruction of these fanatics, whom they represented to the people as the instruments of the captive queen. Letters ascribed to Mary, in proof of this charge, were produced, which had fallen into the hands of Elizabeth through the treachery of Gifford. In these letters, two of which were addressed to Babington, with several to Mendoza, Paget, and others, Mary, it was given out, approved of the conspiracy, and even of the assassination of her oppressor. She directed them (it was added) to proceed with the utmost circumspection, and not to take arms till

foreign auxiliaries were ready to join them: she also recommended to them the earl of Arundel, his brothers, and the young earl of Northumberland, as persons proper to conduct their enterprise; and advised them, at the same time, to excite, if possible, commotions in Ireland; while she besought them, above all things, to concert with care the means of her escape; for which she suggested to them several different expedients.

At the trial of the conspirators, these circumstances were narrated, and received by the nation, in its present state of alarm, agitation, and prejudice, without distrust or investigation. The zeal of Mary for her religion was well known; nor were examples of a sanguinary intolerance rare in that age. Every cabal against the peace of the kingdom, had, for many years, been carried on in the name of the queen of Scots, whose safety now appeared to the people incompatible with that of Elizabeth. Why, said they, should the tranquillity of the people of England be sacrificed to a stranger? Why should a life so dear to the nation be incessantly exposed to the assaults of an exasperated rival? The sacred person of our beloved sovereign has been threatened, wherefore then should not an injured people execute the just vengeance which they have so solemnly vowed?

This reasoning, suggested by Elizabeth and her ministers, was sufficiently agreeable to their views,

for which it could not fail to suggest an apology. In proportion to the injuries which Elizabeth had heaped on Mary, her fear and hatred of her victim were augmented. It is scarcely in human nature to love those on whose account we suffer abasement in our own eyes.

The consciousness of having sinned against Mary beyond forgiveness, persuaded her rival that she could find security only in her death. Burleigh and Walsingham, also, the most active agents of Elizabeth against the queen of Scots, had every thing to dread from her resentment, should she mount the throne of England. To confirm the wavering resolution of their mistress had therefore become their safety and their interest.

Great care was taken, in the mean time, to keep from Mary the knowledge of the late events, till the proper time for disclosing them should arrive. Sir Thomas Gorges was at length deputed to her from court; who, just as she was getting on horseback to ride out with her keepers, acquainted her with what had past, and with the imputation thrown upon her. Struck with astonishment, she would have returned to her apartment, but this was not permitted. Her private closet was, during her absence, broke open, her cabinet and papers seized, sealed, and sent to court. Her principal domestics

were committed to different keepers; while Naué and Curle, her two secretaries, the one a native of France, the other of Scotland, were seized and carried prisoners to London. All the money in her custody, which amounted to little more than two thousand pounds, was taken away and secured. For several days she was led from one gentleman's house to another, till she was at last conducted to Fotheringay, a strong fortress in Northamptonshire. Nothing more remained but to decide her fate.

While Elizabeth and her principal ministers seemed to have taken their resolution, there appeared among the counsellors a variety of sentiments. Some were of opinion, that to dismiss the attendants of Mary, to keep her under close restraint, and to cut off every possibility of her holding a correspondence with the enemies of the kingdom, would be a punishment sufficiently severe. The more so, as her constitution, worn with anxiety, and broken by confinement and sorrow, had evidently began to yield; nor could it long be expected to support the additional severity of her fate. To this it was objected, that the reverence which the catholics had for her name, and the compassion which they entertained for her sufferings, were not to be extinguished; and that while these sentiments remained, which farther rigours would only tend to aggravate, insurrections and invasions would never be wanting for

her relief. A public and legal trial, however unexampled, would, it was alleged, be the most unexceptionable mode of procedure, by the semblance of dignity and justice which it would wear; while the proceedings might be founded on the act of the last parliament.

Determined that no circumstance of solemnity might be wanting, suited to the dignity of the person arraigned, Elizabeth appointed, by a commission under the great seal, forty persons, the most illustrious in the kingdom for their rank and birth, together with five judges, for the decision of the cause. The name and title by which Mary should be arraigned, occasioned some difficulty to the gentlemen of the law, who, while violating the essentials of justice, were solicitous for its empty forms. It was at length agreed, that the prisoner should be styled, "Mary, daughter and heir of James V. late king of Scotland, commonly called queen of Scots, and dowager of France."

The unhappy captive, after the indignities she had suffered, doubted not but that her fate drew near. Every moment she was in expectation of ending her days by poison, or by some secret method, usually prescribed on similar occasions. To preserve her memory from the malice of her enemies, she addressed a letter to the duke of Guise, in which she vindicated herself, in strong language,

from having encouraged, or been an accessory to, the conspiracy for assassinating Elizabeth. The report of a public trial, an idea which could never have occurred to her, had not yet penetrated the solitude of her prison.

The commissioners, appointed by Elizabeth, arrived at Fotheringay, on the 11th of October, 1586. On the ensuing morning they delivered to Mary a letter from the queen, in which, after severe reproaches and accusations, she informed her victim, that regard to her own safety had, at length, rendered it necessary to make a public enquiry into her conduct; she therefore required her, as she had so long lived under the protection of the laws of England, to submit herself to their cognisance of her crimes. Surprise was the only emotion which Mary discovered on this occasion, nor was she unmindful of her own dignity. Having solemnly protested her innocence of the crime laid to her charge, and that she had never countenanced any attempt against the life of Elizabeth, she refused to acknowledge the jurisdiction of her commissioners. 'I came,' said she, 'into the kingdom an independent sovereign, to implore the queen's assistance, not to subject myself to her authority. Nor is my spirit so broken by past misfortunes, or intimidated by present dangers, as to stoop to any thing unbecoming the majesty of a crowned head; or that will disgrace the ancestors

from whom I am descended, and the son to whom I shall leave my throne. If I must be tried, princes only can be my peers. However noble may be their birth, the subjects of the queen of England are of a rank inferior to mine. Since my arrival in this kingdom I have been uniformly confined as a prisoner. Its laws never afforded to me any protection. Let them not now be perverted in order to take away my life.'

Intreaties and arguments were urged by the commissioners against the resolution of Mary. They had even recourse to threats, and menaced her with proceeding according to the forms of the law, and passing sentence against her on account of her contumacy. For two days she however persisted in the resolution she had avowed. An argument used by Hatton, the vice-chamberlain, shook, at length, her firmness. By avoiding a trial, he told her, she was an enemy to her own reputation, and deprived herself of an opportunity of making her innocence manifest. Nothing, he added, could be more agreeable to the commissioners, or more acceptable to their mistress, than the conviction, by undoubted evidence, that she had been unjustly accused.

Unassisted by any friend or counsellor, Mary suffered herself to be deluded by this plausible pretence, and fell into the toils spread for her entanglement. Solicitous for the vindication of her

honour, she relaxed in the dignified firmness suited to the rank of a queen.

She was received by her judges (October 14th), on her appearance in the great hall of the castle, with much ceremony. Before she gave an answer to the accusations preferred against her, she protested against the jurisdiction of the court, and the validity and justice of those acts by which it was pretended to try her. The chancellor answered her by a counter protestation; when the queen's attorney and solicitor brought forward the charges against her. The circumstances of the late conspiracy were detailed, and copies of the letters of Mary produced. The confessions of Babington, Ballard, Savage, &c. followed, together with the declarations of Naué and Curl her secretaries. The whole evidence was arranged in specious order, and heightened by every colouring which eloquence could bestow.

Mary listened attentively, and without apparent emotion, to all that passed, till, on the mention of the earl of Arundel, who had been confined in the Tower on suspicion, she broke out into a pathetic and generous exclamation—'Alas!' said she, 'how much has the noble house of Howard suffered for my sake!'

When the counsel for the queen had finished, Mary rose up, and, with equal magnanimity and presence of mind, began her defence. She bewailed

the unhappiness of her situation, that, after a captivity of nineteen years, during which her sufferings had been not less cruel than unmerited, she was at last loaded with an imputation, which not merely tended to rob her of her right of succession, but to deprive her of life itself, and to transmit her name with infamy to posterity. She complained, that, without regarding the sacred rights of sovereignty, she was subjected to laws framed against private persons; and, though an anointed queen, commanded, like a common criminal, to appear before a tribunal of subjects, and have her honour exposed to the petulant tongues of lawyers, capable of misrepresenting and wresting her words and actions. While thus disgracefully situated, she was even denied the privilege usually granted to criminals; and, without the aid of counsel, without the use of her own papers, and even without the presence or advice of a friend, compelled to plead in her own defence.

She absolutely denied any correspondence with Babington, or any knowledge even of the name of Ballard. Copies only of her pretended letters, she alleged, were produced; nor could they, either by her hand-writing or subscription, convict her of the crime so lightly imputed to her charge. What proof, she asked, had been brought, that the letters pretended to have been addressed to her were ever

received; or that, by her direction, any answer had been returned to them? The confession of wretches, condemned and executed for an atrocious crime, was surely of but little weight: from men in such a situation, what might not hope or fear extort? Was the honour of a queen to be stained by testimony so vile? Neither could the declaration of her secretaries, strangers in a foreign land, whose resolution might be overcome by promises and threats, and who, in order to screen themselves, might accuse their mistress, be more conclusive. Beside, before they could discover any thing that might prejudice her, to whom they had sworn fidelity, they must be guilty of perjury, and thus render themselves unworthy of confidence. The letters to the Spanish embassador were copies only, or they contained nothing but what was perfectly innocent. 'Often,' continued she, 'have I made such efforts for my liberty, as are natural to a human creature; and convinced, by the sad experience of years, that it was vain to expect freedom either from the generosity or the justice of the queen of England, I have solicited foreign princes, and called on all my friends, to employ their interest for my relief. I have also endeavoured to procure for the English catholics some mitigation of the rigours with which they are treated; and, could I hope by my death to deliver them from oppression, for their sakes I am willing to die.

I would, however, imitate the example of Esther, not that of Judith, and would rather make intercession for my people, than shed the blood of the meanest creature in order to save them. The intemperate zeal of my adherents has often received a check from me, when they have been precipitated into violent councils, either by the severity of their own persecutions, or through indignation at the unheard-of injuries which I have endured. I have even warned the queen of dangers to which she was exposed by these harsh proceedings. Worn out as I now am by sufferings and cares, can the prospect of a crown be so inviting, that in order to obtain it I should ruin my soul? I am no stranger to the feelings of humanity; neither am I unacquainted with the duties of religion; and I abhor the detestable crime of assassination, as equally repugnant to both. If ever I have given consent by my words, or even in thought, to any attempt against the life of the queen of England, far from declining the judgment of men, I shall not even pray for the mercy of God."

On the two days which Mary appeared before her judges, her conduct displayed the magnanimity of a heroine, tempered by the gentleness and modesty of a woman.

By the express command of Elizabeth, the commissioners, without pronouncing any sentence, ad-

journed to the star-chamber, where Naué and Curl, being brought into court, confirmed upon oath their former deposition. The commissioners, after reviewing their whole proceedings, were unanimous in declaring Mary "to be accessary to the conspiracy of Babington, and to have imagined divers matters, tending to the hurt, death, and destruction of Elizabeth, contrary to the express words of the statute made for the security of the life of the queen." (October 25th, 1586.)

The irregularities of this trial are glaring and flagrant. Mary was a foreigner and an independent queen, out of the cognisance of the laws of England, and over whom Elizabeth had no legal power. Could even the subjects of another prince have become her judges, the forms of justice ought at least to have been observed. If the testimony of Babington and his associates was explicit against her, why was she not confronted with them? a circumstance which might have overwhelmed her with undoubted conviction. Why were not Naué and Curl produced at Fotheringay, and not in the star-chamber, where Mary was not present to defend herself from their charge, or even to witness the reality of their deposition? Was it just that she should be brought to her trial unprepared, thrown off her guard by terrifying circumstances, and allowed no counsel or legal assistance? Ought the copies

of letters to have been received in proof of guilt, of which the originals were never produced? In such circumstances, and with such inadequate evidence, the condemnation of the meanest criminal would have been a gross violation of humanity and justice. The judges of Mary were pre-determined to find her guilty; the trial was a mere pretence to give a sanction to their proceedings; while the nation, blinded by their zeal for their sovereign, and resentment against the unfortunate victim of her jealousy, received probabilities as proofs, and took for demonstrations mere suspicious circumstances.

In the parliament, which met a few days after the fatal sentence was pronounced, more discernment and temper might have been expected: but the spirit of prejudice had gone forth, a ferment had taken place in the mind of the nation, which no artifices had been omitted to heighten. An impatient enquiry was made into the conspiracy, and the danger which threatened the peace of the kingdom. The papers produced at Fotheringay were laid before the house, when, after many vehement invectives against the devoted Mary, the proceedings of the commissioners were unanimously ratified, and their sentence declared to be just and well-founded. An address also was presented to Elizabeth by the lords and commons, intreating her,

as she regarded her own safety, the security of the protestant religion, and the welfare and wishes of her people, to publish the sentence, and, without farther delay, to inflict on a rival, not less irreclaimable than dangerous, the punishment which her crimes had merited. This request was enforced by reasons of expediency, not less unworthy and mean than the fears by which they were dictated. The spirit and address of Mary, which no sufferings could curb or extinguish, were urged to her condemnation. To this it was added, that while her adherents believed her person to be sacred, they would despise any danger by which themselves only were threatened. Several foreign princes, it was affirmed, were ready to second their attempts, and waited only a proper opportunity both to invade the kingdom, and to assert the title of Mary to the crown. Her life therefore was incompatible with the safety of Elizabeth, the security of the reformed religion, and the liberties of the nation. The propriety of such a sacrifice was proved from examples in history; and the Scriptures were pressed into the service of injustice.

This reasoning was peculiarly acceptable to the person to whom it was addressed, whose situation was sufficiently critical and embarrassed. In her answer, she availed herself of her usual

ambiguous style: her professions of attachment for her people, were artfully blended with complaints so pathetic of the ingratitude of Mary, mingled with intimations of the dangers to which her own life was exposed, as could not fail to aggravate popular indignation. With an affectation of clemency, she besought them, in the end, to spare her the pain and infamy of delivering up to punishment a queen and her nearest kinswoman; and to consider whether it might not be still possible to provide for the public security, without forcing her to imbrue her hands in royal blood.

The real meaning of Elizabeth, amidst this parade, was not misconstrued: the lords and commons repeated their former request, without fearing to offend by their importunity. This sanction which Elizabeth had obtained for her proceedings fully satisfied her mind: parliament was accordingly adjourned, while the queen reserved in her own hands the sole disposal of the fate of her rival.

The situation of Mary was, by the princes of Europe, observed with mingled horror and surprise. The king of France*, notwithstanding his aversion to the house of Guise, interposed in behalf of the common cause of princes. An ex-

* Henry III.

traordinary commission was brought by Bellieure to join the resident embassador in his intercession for the queen of Scots. Elizabeth was assailed by mingled reproaches and menaces; to both of which she remained inexorable.

Nor was any greater respect paid to the Scottish king, whose solicitations were urged with yet more earnestness. James could not behold the indignities to which his mother was exposed, without the feelings of a monarch and a son. Even the pride of the nation was roused by this insult offered to the blood of their king. Unwilling to believe that Elizabeth would indeed venture upon an action so unprecedented, and so injurious to the regal dignity, of which she had ever been peculiarly jealous, James remained for a time in doubt. At length, when the extraordinary steps which she had taken sufficiently manifested her real intentions, he dispatched sir William Keith to London, who, with Douglas, his embassador-in-ordinary, strongly remonstrated respecting the late transactions. Neither the complaints nor the intreaties of James having procured from Elizabeth any reply, he wrote to her with his own hand, threatened to renounce her friendship, and to avenge his mother's wrongs, as both in duty and honour it became a son to do. He assembled also at same time his nobles, who promised to

assist and stand by him, and appointed embassadors to the different courts of Europe, whose aid and interference he implored. He also took other measures towards the execution of his threats.

Irritated by the high tone which James had assumed, Elizabeth was about to dismiss his embassadors in contemptuous silence, had not her ministers, alarmed by his hostile preparations, intreated her to return a mild and evasive answer; in which she promised to listen to any overtures from the Scottish monarch, and to suspend for a time the execution of the sentence.

In the mean time she omitted not to inform the people, that the sentence against Mary, which she commanded to be published, had been extorted from her by both houses of parliament. She also dispatched lord Buckhurst and Beale to inform the captive queen of the doom pronounced against her, and the importunity of the nation for its accomplishment, advising her to prepare for an event which the tranquillity of her people, and the security of the protestant religion, might render indispensable. "No wonder," said Mary, with an air of intrepidity and triumph—"No wonder the English, who have so often offered violence to their own monarchs, should now thirst for the blood of a foreign prince. But death, after so many sufferings, comes to me as a welcome deliverer.

I am proud to think that my life is esteemed of importance to the catholic religion; for which I am now willing to die as a martyr".

The unhappy Mary, after the publication of her sentence, was stripped of every remaining vestige of her rank: the canopy of state in her apartment was pulled down; while Paulet entered her chamber, and even approached her person, without ceremony or respect. Shocked and offended at indignities, and a familiarity, to which she had never been accustomed, Mary once more complained to Elizabeth, whom she intreated, at the same time, as her last request, that she would permit her dead body to be carried by her servants into France, to be laid among her ancestors in hallowed ground. She also desired, that some of her domestics might be present at her execution, to bear witness of her innocence, and firm adherence to her faith; that all her servants might be suffered to leave the kingdom, and to enjoy those small legacies which, as testimonies of her affection, she should be enabled to bestow on them; and that, in the mean time, her almoner, or some other catholic priest, might be allowed to attend her, and to assist her preparation for another world. She also besought her, in the name of Christ, by the soul and memory of Henry VII., their common progenitor, by their

near consanguinity, and the royal dignity with which they were both invested, to gratify her in these particulars, and to indulge her by a signification of her compliance written in her own hand. It is uncertain whether this letter was ever delivered to Elizabeth, but no answer was returned, nor any regard paid to the requests which it contained. Mary was offered a protestant bishop or a dean to attend her; a proposition which she rejected; while she prepared herself, without assistance, and with great tranquillity, for her approaching fate.

New embassadors * were, without losing a moment, sent by James to London (January 1st, 1587), who offered in the name of their master, that he should bind himself, that, with the consent of Mary, no conspiracy should be undertaken against the peace of England, or the person of its sovereign; for the faithful performance of which engagement, he was ready to deliver up, as hostages, some of the most considerable of the Scottish nobles. And should this be deemed insufficient, the embassadors proposed, that Mary should resign all her rights and pretensions to her son, from whom nothing injurious to the

* The master of Gray, and sir Robert Melvil.

safety of Elizabeth, or the security of the reformed religion, could possibly be apprehended. Both these proposals were rejected by Elizabeth, the former as insecure, and the latter as perilous. The embassadors were then instructed to assume a stronger tone; a command which Melvil executed with zeal. But the master of Gray, with his characteristic perfidy, deceived the monarch whom he had engaged to serve, and betrayed the queen whom he was commissioned to save. With the old proverb, "The dead cannot bite," he urged Elizabeth to proceed to extremities, and undertook to appease his master.

In this delicate situation of affairs, Elizabeth manifested great disquietude: however she might determine on the important subject which occupied her thoughts, her life, her kingdom, and her reputation, were involved. The people with anxiety awaited her decision; while their passions were kept in agitation by artful rumours of dangers and plots. The French embassador was accused of having suborned an assassin to murder the queen. The Spanish fleet, it was reported, was arrived at Milford-haven; and the duke of Guise had landed with an army in Sussex. One day, the northern counties were said to be in arms; and the next, the Scots had entered England. A conspiracy, it was whispered, was on

foot for burning the city, and seizing the person of the queen. The panic daily increased, as credulity and fear magnified the danger; while the populace called vehemently for the execution of Mary, as the only sacrifice that could disperse the storm.

It was in the midst of this fermentation, which was insidiously heightened and inflamed, that Elizabeth ventured to strike the meditated blow. Davison, one of the secretaries of state, was commanded to bring to her the fatal warrant, which she subscribed without any relenting symptoms. She was however still solicitous to preserve appearances, and let fall many intimations, both to her courtiers and to the keepers of the captive queen, that might prompt them to extricate her by their zeal from the perplexities of her situation. It was to the honour of the English nation, that no assassin was to be found: Paulet, though harsh in his temper, and sometimes brutal in the discharge of what he conceived to be his duty, rejected with disdain a proposal of this nature; while he declared, that though the queen might dispose of his life at pleasure, he would not stain his honour, or cover his memory with infamy. Elizabeth, on the receipt of this answer, called him a *dainty* and *precise fellow*, who promised much,

but performed nothing; while she proposed to employ one Wingfield, as a man who possessed both courage and inclination to strike the blow. Davison remonstrated with her against a method of this nature, as not less hazardous than disgraceful; when she again declared, that the sentence pronounced by the commissioners, and which she had already signed, should be duly put in execution, and desired that no farther application might be made to her on the subject. The privy-council, thus authorised, assembled in the council-chamber, and, by a letter under all their hands, empowered the earls of Shrewsbury and Kent, with the high-sheriff of the county, to witness the execution of the sentence.

On Tuesday, February 7th, the two earls, having arrived at Fotheringay, demanded access to Mary, and read in her presence the warrant for her execution, which was appointed for the ensuing day. 'That soul,' said Mary, calmly crossing herself, 'is unworthy the joys of heaven, which repines because the body must endure the stroke of the axe. I submit willingly to the lot which Heaven has decreed for me; though I did not expect that the queen of England would set the first example of violating the sacred person of a sovereign prince.' Then laying her hand on a Bible, which happened to be near her, she solemn-

ly protested her innocence of the conspiracy carried on by Babington against the life of Elizabeth. She also repeated the requests contained in her letter to the queen, to which she obtained no satisfactory reply. With particular earnestness she intreated that her almoner might be suffered to attend her in these her last moments, that she might enjoy the consolation of those pious institutions which her religion prescribed. Even this favour, with an odious and cruel bigotry, was denied to her.

Her attendants, during this affecting scene, though awed by the presence of the two earls, were bathed in tears. Their anguish, which had been with difficulty suppressed, burst forth on the departure of Shrewsbury and Kent, when they broke out into passionate exclamations of grief. Mary, with a tranquillity truly heroic and sublime, endeavoured to moderate the vehemence of their sorrow, while, sunk on her knees, and surrounded by her affectionate domestics, she thanked Heaven that the period of her sufferings drew near; and prayed that she might be enabled to meet the evil that still remained with decent fortitude. She employed the greater part of the evening in settling her worldly affairs, and wrote her will with her own hand. She distributed among her

servants, in proportion to their station or merit, her jewels, her money, and her clothes. She addressed a short letter to the king of France, and another to the duke of Guise, replete with sentiments of tenderness and magnanimity. She recommended her soul to their prayers, and her servants to their protection. She supped as usual, ate moderately, and conversed with unaffected cheerfulness. She drank to each of her servants, and asked their forgiveness for any failure of her duties towards them. At the accustomed time she went to bed, and slept composedly for several hours. She arose early in the morning and retired to her closet, in which she employed a considerable time in her devotional exercises. The high-sheriff and his officers found her still kneeling at the altar, when, at eight o'clock, they entered her chamber. On their appearance she started up, and with majesty in her air, and serenity in her aspect, advanced cheerfully, leaning on two of Paulet's attendants, towards the place of execution. She was dressed in a mourning habit, but with an elegance and splendour which she had long laid aside. In her hand she carried an ivory crucifix, her beads hung at her girdle, and an *Agnus Dei*, by a pomander chain, from her neck. She was received at the bottom of the staircase by the two earls, attended by several

gentlemen from the neighbouring counties. She was also here met by sir Andrew Melvil, the master of her household, who had been secluded from her presence for some weeks, but who was allowed to take his last farewel. At beholding in such a situation a mistress whom he tenderly loved, the good man melted into tears, and lamented that he should be appointed to carry into Scotland the tidings of so mournful an event. 'Weep not, good Melvil,' replied the victim, 'there is at present greater cause to rejoice. This day shalt thou see Mary Stuart delivered from all her cares, and a period, such as she has long expected, put to her tedious sufferings. Bear witness that I die constant in my religion; firm in my fidelity towards Scotland; and unchanged in my affection to France. Commend me to my son. Tell him I have done nothing injurious to his kingdom, to his honour, or to his rights. God forgive all those who, without cause, have thirsted for my blood!'

She prevailed on the two earls, but not without difficulty, to permit Melvil, together with two of her maids, and three of her men-servants, to attend her to the scaffold, which was erected in the hall in which she had been tried, raised a little above the floor, and covered with black cloth,

as were also the chair, the cushion, and the block. Mary beheld the apparatus of death with an unvarying countenance, mounted the steps with alacrity, and, as she sat down on the chair, signed herself with the cross. To the warrant for execution, which was read by Beale with an audible voice, she attended with an air of indifference, as with a mind occupied by other thoughts. A discourse, suitable to her present condition, was then begun by the dean of Peterborough, who offered up his prayers in her behalf. She could not in conscience, she declared, listen to the discourse or join in the prayers of the dean. Having said which, she sunk on her knees and repeated a Latin prayer. When the dean had concluded his devotions, Mary, in the English language, and with an audible voice, recommended to God the afflicted state of the church, prayed for the prosperity of her son, and for a long life and peaceable reign to Elizabeth. She hoped for mercy, she declared, only through the death of Christ, at the foot of whose image she now willingly shed her blood. Having lifted up and kissed the crucifix—'As thy arms, O Jesus,' said she, addressing the image, 'were extended on the cross, so, with the outstretched arms of thy mercy, receive me, and forgive my sins.'

She then took off her veil and upper garments, in preparation for the block. One of the execu-

tioners endeavouring somewhat roughly to assist her, she repulsed him, with a smile, and observed, that she had not been accustomed to be served by such valets, or to undress in the presence of so many spectators. With intrepid calmness, she laid her neck on the block: her hands were held by one executioner, while the other, with two blows, dissevered her head from her body. Her head-dress falling off, discovered her hair, become prematurely grey with sorrow and anxiety. "So perish all the enemies of Elizabeth!" exclaimed the dean, as the executioner held up the streaming head. "Amen," answered the earl of Kent alone; every other eye was drowned in tears; every other voice was stifled in commiseration. Hard must have been the heart, that, at that solemn and affecting moment, could have felt any sentiments excepting those of admiration and tender sorrow. Thus, after a life of forty-four years and two months, nineteen years of which had been passed in captivity, perished the lovely and unfortunate Mary, queen of Scots.

The turbulence of the times, the rancour of party rage, and the medium of prejudice or partiality, through which every object in those periods was beheld, render it difficult to form a just opinion of the character of Mary. Her personal accom-

plishments and the graces which distinguished her as a woman, are admitted by all parties; respecting these, therefore, there can be no dispute. Her stature rose to the majestic, her form was elegant, and her hands and arms distinguished for their delicacy and beauty. Her hair was black, though, in the fashion of the times, she frequently adorned herself in borrowed locks, and of various colours. Her eyes were dark grey, and her complexion remarkably fine. She walked, danced, and rode, with equal grace. She possessed a taste for music; she played upon the lute with skill, and sung melodiously. Towards the conclusion of her life, she began to grow corpulent, while confinement and bad accommodation brought upon her a rheumatic disorder, which deprived her of the use of her limbs. Her manners were affable and insinuating, dignified and sprightly. She spoke eloquently, and wrote with ease and elegance. Her temper was warm, and her heart affectionate. She loved flattery, and beheld the effects of her beauty with pleasure. If she had acquired the power of dissembling her sentiments in the refined and intriguing court of France, her nature was nevertheless frank and indisposed to suspicion. Her piety was fervent and sincere, her talents, if not of the highest, were undoubtedly of a superior order; and the resolution and courage which she

manifested at her death, are truly worthy of admiration. A long series of successive sorrows bespeak, with few exceptions, some imprudence in the sufferer: the misfortunes of Mary, both in degree and duration, exceeded the common measure of human calamities, and even render the distresses of fiction comparatively faint. The vicissitudes of her life have afforded a fine and a fruitful subject for the tragic muse. No man, says Brantome, ever beheld her without admiration and love; no one will read her history without pity and sorrow.

After her execution, none of her women were allowed to come near the body of their murdered mistress. Her remains were carried into a room adjoining to the hall, where they lay for some days, covered with a coarse cloth torn from a billiard-table. The block, the scaffold, the aprons of the executioners, and every thing stained with her blood, were consumed with fire. Elizabeth, not long after, appointed the corpse of her victim to be interred, with royal magnificence, in the cathedral of Peterborough. James, after his accession to the English throne, had it removed to Westminster abbey, and deposited among the kings of England.

Elizabeth affected to receive the news of the death of her rival with surprise and grief; she

even carried her artifice to so barbarous a length, as to render Davison, her secretary of state, and the innocent instrument of her cruelty and dissimulation, the victim of her perfidy. Under pretence that he had orders not to suffer the warrant for the execution of Mary to go out of his hands, he was deprived of his offices, fined, imprisoned, and utterly ruined. By the sacrifice of the unhappy secretary, she endeavoured to make her peace with the king of Scots, whom the death of his mother had filled with resentment and grief, which yielded however at length to the necessities of his situation. His scanty revenues, the turbulent spirit of his nobles, the influence of the cabinet of England, and the powerful faction devoted to its court, added to the prospect of the English succession, and the noble inheritance which by the friendship of its queen he could not fail to obtain, formed a powerful combination of motives, which the fears, the interest, the prudence, and the ambition of James, united to render resistless. Having affected to admit the excuses pleaded by Elizabeth, and to be satisfied with the sacrifice of the ill-fated Davison, he stifled his indignation in political considerations, and continued the semblance of amity with the English court. Thus, like the destruction of a common criminal, the death and sufferings of Mary remained unavenged,

while Elizabeth was suffered to reap the advantages of her malignity.

To the master of Gray, however, the treacherous part which he had acted in the late embassy proved deservedly fatal. The particulars of his conduct, which became generally known, excited the disgust of James; an occasion which his enemies seized for his destruction. Before a convention of nobles, he was publicly accused of having, by his advice and suggestions, contributed to the death of the queen, and of holding a correspondence with catholic princes, with a view to subvert the religion of the kingdom. Conscious of guilt, unsupported by his master, and detested by every one, he made a feeble defence, and was condemned to perpetual exile.

Previous to the next meeting of parliament, James, who had now attained a full age, did honour to himself by an attempt to conciliate the feuds, by which the nation had been so long distracted and torn. After preparatory negociations, he invited the contending parties to a royal entertainment in the palace of Holyrood-house, where, by mingled entreaties and commands, he obtained from them a promise to bury in oblivion their late dissensions. They were afterwards conducted through the streets of Edinburgh, marching in pairs, each hand-in-hand with his enemy, in

amicable and solemn procession. Having proceeded to the public cross, where a collation of wine and sweetmeats was prepared, they exchanged, while they drank to each other, reciprocal signs of forgiveness and future friendship. The people rejoiced at this singular and affecting scene, and testified their satisfaction by repeated acclamations. That this laudable spectacle had answered the end for which it was proposed, was a circumstance rather to be wished than expected, by those who had made a melancholy progress in the study of human characters and events.

IN the courſe of this narrative it has been ſtudiouſly avoided to pronounce any actual deciſion reſpecting the real guilt or criminality of Mary, in thoſe two important tranſactions of her reign, the murder of Darnly, and the ſubſequent marriage of his widow with the murderer. Still farther to oppoſe to the circumſtances already related, which may ſeem to tend to the crimination of Mary, juſtice and candour combine to demand, that a brief abſtract ſhould be given of the arguments alleged in her vindication. The reader will then be left to form his own concluſions on the evidence preſented to him.

If by the catholics Mary was held up as a model of perfection, and by the calviniſts repreſented as a monſter of wickedneſs, this, by every mind that has attended to the hiſtory of party bigotry, even in ages of boaſted civiliſation and refinement, was neceſſarily to be expected. But why, it may be aſked, do we ſee the ſame diviſion, and the ſame prejudices, for nearly two centuries after theſe fervours have ſubſided, and a general indifference has taken

place of the enthuſiaſm and violence which they produced? To this queſtion it has been anſwered, that it is a well-known fact, that the only hiſtories of the reign of Mary which were ſuffered to be publiſhed in the language of the country, and allowed to circulate among the people, were penned by her avowed and open enemies. The frantic zeal of Knox in the cauſe of the Reformation, rendered him at once the eaſy dupe and the powerful tool of an artful and politic faction, which made ſucceſsful uſe of his popular talents. In times of fanaticiſm and faction, religious zeal and political opinions are almoſt always inſeparably connected; and ſuper-human indeed muſt be the ſtrength that ſhould ſucceed in diſſevering them. To doubt of the records of the apoſtles of the church, or to believe that good intentions might be miſled by intemperate fervours, would be a kind of hereſy that would excite the horror of the faithful. While the lower claſſes of the Scots were the implicit diſciples of Knox, the *Detection* of Mary, by Buchanan, had its effect among the learned. This work, patroniſed by Elizabeth, and the regency of Scotland, ſpread through the realm, and was diſtributed among foreign princes. His Latin hiſtory was taught in the ſchools, and made a ſtudy at univerſities. While theſe writings were thus favoured, thoſe compoſed by the oppoſite party, whoſe credit and popularity were ruined and ſunk, either remained unpubliſhed, were ſuppreſſed by the arm of power, or were written in languages to which the people were ſtrangers. The vindication of Mary by biſhop Leſly, was ſtifled the moment it was known to be in the preſs; and the writer, notwithſtanding his privilege as an embaſſador, thrown by Elizabeth into priſon. If, after a long confinement, he eſcaped to the Netherlands, and there publiſhed his book, the avenues to its entrance into the Britiſh nation were too carefully guarded to admit its circulation. Till it was long after reprinted by Anderſon, ſcarce a copy of it was to be found. A leaf was cancelled in the continuation of Hollinſhed's hiſtory, for a ſingle inſinuation in favour of Mary. The Annals of Camden,

written in Latin, were not printed for nearly a century after. Neither were the Memoirs of Crawford published till their anonymous author had lain in the grave near a hundred and fifty years. These were the principal works written in favour of Mary, whose cause circumstances had combined to render unpopular. A long and general acquiescence in the truth of the asseverations of the adverse party, gradually silenced every doubt; while one historian copied another, and every one those which had preceded him.

At length, a small number of speculative persons began to examine the nature of the evidence produced against Mary; and, as the age became more enlightened and sceptical, the historic doubt arose. Mr. Goodall, late keeper of the advocate's library in Edinburgh, whose office gave him access to original records, was the first modern champion in the cause of Mary: his work, which was ingenious and acute, laid the foundation for those who came after him. Tytler followed the same path, but took a wider circuit. Stuart succeeded, but without a perfect developement of his plan. Whitaker next, by connecting incidents, and contrasting different accounts of the same transaction, illustrated many events, and threw a light on what had before appeared obscure. The period of Mary's life which he particularly investigates, is that which concerns the death of Darnly, the marriage of Bothwell, and the letters and sonnets said to be written by the queen.

A heavy charge is brought by him against the duplicity of Elizabeth, in the commissions instituted at York and Westminster, for the purpose of an enquiry into the grounds of the difference subsisting between Mary and the Scottish nation. Elizabeth, he endeavours to prove, and with great force of reasoning, was already sensible of the futility of the charges brought against the captive queen; and that the letters produced by Murray, tending to prove her criminality, were not publicly given to the commissioners, in their official capacity, nor in presence of the commissioners of Mary, who waited for their production for the avowed purpose of refuting them; but shewn only to the

Engliſh commiſſioners, in private, and for their own individual ſatisfaction, while extracts from the letters were by them ſent to Elizabeth, who had, it is added, in the ſame private manner previouſly peruſed theſe letters herſelf. No intimation was given of this tranſaction to the commiſſioners of Mary; the papers were again returned to Murray, who was allowed to go back to Scotland, and exerciſe the rights of ſovereignty, while Mary was ſtill detained a captive in England.

The firſt commiſſion having been abruptly recalled, other commiſſioners were appointed to ſit at Weſtminſter, before whom the letters and papers were at length produced; and having been, by their order, tranſcribed and collated, were immediately returned to the regent. The commiſſioners of Mary, when this circumſtance was known, once more demanded a ſight of the originals, the falſity of which they pledged themſelves to prove. This demand, however reaſonable, was ſtill refuſed by Elizabeth, who cauſed Murray haſtily to withdraw both himſelf and the documents. In this ſituation of affairs, Mary earneſtly and repeatedly urged, that her commiſſioners ſhould be allowed the ſight only of the copies, and that even from theſe they would prove the originals to be ſpurious. But this requeſt alſo proved vain; nor did Mary or her friends ever procure a ſight of the papers. Thus prevented even from the poſſibility of refuting the calumnies againſt her, her ſilence was alleged as a proof of her guilt.

Reſpecting the authenticity of the papers themſelves, evidence is brought forward to prove, that no idea of the letters was entertained by Murray and his party, till ſeveral months after the time when it is pretended that they were found (June 20th). That the notion firſt entered into the minds of the junto about the month of October or November; that from this period till December, when they were laid before the privy-council of Scotland, the plan concerning the uſes that were to be made of them frequently varied. That from the time they were laid before the privy-council till they were exhibited in parliament, the letters

themſelves underwent material changes. That other alterations took place in them before they were ſhewn at York, and that they ſuffered a yet more extraordinary metamorphoſis in their progreſs to Weſtminſter. That on their firſt fabrication, it was intended to convict Mary, with a glare of evidence, of the murder of her huſband; that this circumſtance was afterwards ſoftened, and the charge of adultery enlarged and inſiſted upon. That the latter crime was to involve, not merely Bothwell, but ſeveral other perſons; a circumſtance which it was afterwards thought proper to reject. Finally, it was agreed to inſiſt upon the criminal correſpondence with Bothwell, and to hint but obſcurely at the murder of the king. The letters, when firſt produced, were written and ſubſcribed with the queen's own hand, dated alſo, and addreſſed to Bothwell. Both the addreſs and the dates were afterwards curtailed, as was alſo the ſubſcription; the pretended hand-writing only remaining. The party were not in poſſeſſion of the queen's ſignet; theſe letters, therefore, were never ſaid to have been ſealed; the ſtate in which they were exhibited to the commiſſioners of Elizabeth was as mere pieces of paper, ſubſcribed by no one, addreſſed to no one, undated, and unſealed. After the conferences at York, another alteration, ſtill more glaring, took place. Before this time the letters had appeared, with all their other changes, invariably in the Scotch language; to the commiſſioners of Weſtminſter they were ſhewn written in French. Poſſibly the obvious impropriety had at length ſtruck the party, of ſending, written in the language of the country, papers containing ſubjects of ſuch deep criminality, by caſual bearers, unſealed. The Scotch letters at York, and the French letters at Weſtminſter, were equally vouched to be the originals, written in the queen's own hand. Elizabeth ſaw them both, and her penetration and ſagacity have never been called in queſtion. Theſe facts appear to be proved on full and ſtrong evidence. The ſonnets, originally written in French*, and produced as a corroboration of the letters, directly contradict them

* By Buchanan, according to Whitaker.

in a variety of reſpects, and thus afford a preſumption of the unſkilfulneſs of fiction. Contracts between Mary and Bothwell alſo accompany the ſonnets and letters; one an obligation from Mary, by which ſhe engages to accept the hand of Bothwell; the other a mutual promiſe, ſigned by both. In theſe alſo appear a contradiction of well-known facts, while circumſtances are mentioned and alluded to that could not have exiſted at the time. If, therefore, it ſhould be ſeen (and mere aſſertions only are not produced) that the letters contradict each other, the ſonnets the letters, and the contracts both, a forgery can ſcarcely be doubted.

The point which the enemies of Mary laboured to eſtabliſh by the letters, was her knowledge of and conſent to the murder of her huſband. Several of the perſons executed publicly, as acceſſories to the crime, had declared on the ſcaffold, in the preſence of thouſands, that the queen had no concern in the tranſaction; while ſome of them confeſſed, that they had been proffered a full pardon, with other rewards, on condition that they ſhould accuſe her; which no temptations ſhould induce them to do. But relying on their own power in Scotland, and the favour of Elizabeth in England, theſe public and real confeſſions, it is affirmed, were, by the regent and his party, exchanged for contrary and fabricated evidence. The falſe confeſſions were, like the letters and ſonnets, of which they were a counterpart, carefully concealed from the commiſſioners of Mary, to prevent their detection and refutation. They were afterwards publiſhed, and, by their contradictions, involved in themſelves a demonſtration of their falſehood.

Reſpecting the real hiſtory of the murder of Darnly, evidence is brought forward to prove, that Bothwell performed the deed, that Morton certainly, and Murray probably, were conſenting thereto. The whole plan appears, after a long and minute examination of circumſtances and facts, with ſtrong preſumption, to have originated between Elizabeth, Cecil, Morton, and Murray; while the former was to defend the conſpirators in charging the crime on Mary; for

the purpose of giving credit to which, she was to be betrayed into a marriage with Bothwell, the perpetrator. No pains were, of course, spared, to suppress all the direct evidence of the existence of this diabolical scheme; nor could this be difficult to the successful and governing party. Many important papers, well known to have existed at the time, have never since been found, and were probably destroyed. Yet the force of collateral evidence, from circumstances which they could not advert to, have served to disentangle the windings of the plot.

The marriage of Mary with Bothwell, the most disgraceful part of her conduct, still remains to be accounted for. Respecting her attachment to this nobleman, and her acquiescence in the pretended violence with which she was carried off by him, and confined in the fortress of Dunbar, historians seem to have agreed; but not so her present champion *, by whom presumptions are brought forward in proof of a contrary opinion. Of these, one is the disparity of their years †. According to this able and zealous advocate of the unfortunate Mary, she was forcibly, and wholly unexpectedly, seized and hurried to Dunbar, and confined there a close prisoner; where, for the first time, her bold and presumptuous ravisher dared to talk to her of love. That she spurned his proposals with contempt, and rejected them with the indignation they merited. That on his shewing to her the bond he had obtained from the nobles, recommending him to her as a husband, she perceived the extent of the plot to betray her; which, nevertheless, she still resisted. That in counterfeiting despairing passion, this insidious lover threatened his own life, and actually inflicted on himself a wound. That, irritated at length by her continued coldness and repulses, he had recourse to stupifying potions, to humble her to his purpose, and triumph over the honour of his sovereign. It was then only,

* Whitaker's Vindication of the Queen of Scots.

† This will not have much weight with attentive observers of the human mind, of the passions, and of the force of imagination, association, and habit.

that, degraded and desperate, deserted by her subjects, and the slave of a ruffian, the force of her mind began to fail, and she consented to elevate to the dignity of her husband, the man whose power she could not escape. That while she had reason to believe the nation concurred in opinion with the nobles, and that Bothwell was the man they had destined to the throne, she acquiesced in a fate from which she saw no redress. But when an armed force appeared in the field, to vindicate, as she believed, the freedom of her choice, she cheerfully abandoned the husband imposed upon her, and threw herself into the arms of those who opposed him. Little did she then suspect, that the persons in whom she now confided, were the original contrivers of the outrage which she mourned; and less did she perceive the purposes to which their machinations were directed. Yet, amidst the horrors that surrounded her, her spirit bent not to the storm: her enemies had calculated erroneously respecting the force of her mind; nor could they, by their multiplied insults and devices, induce her to make a voluntary surrender of her crown.

Whatever may be the conclusions of the reader respecting the preceding narration, it is certain, that if the *letters* are proved to have been spurious, there is little remains of importance against Mary. The conspirators who had hurled her from the throne to a prison, met in privy-council (Dec. 4, 1567) for the purpose of convicting her of crimes, that should justify their conduct towards her to the world. "*The matter* (say they, on this occasion) *being largelie and with gud* (good) *deliberacion resonit at great length, and upon sundry daies*, all the said lords, baronis, and others, can find no other way, or moyen, how to find or make the said securitie (in justification of themselves), but by (producing the letters in proof) that she was privie, art and part, and of the actual devise and deid, of the murther of the king." From this it appears, that a numerous body of men, having perfect knowledge of the whole life of Mary, with every transaction in her public conduct, are obliged, to give even a colour of justice to their enterprise against her, to have recourse to forgery, to blacken her character, and convict her of guilt. The evidence in favour of

Mary, afforded by this hiſtorical fact, is by no means light or unimportant.

The candid will alſo bear in mind the difficult ſituations in which this young and inexperienced queen was placed; the circumſtances of her education, in a foreign land, far from parental care or admonition, and a ſtranger to the manners of the people ſhe was called to govern. The unfortunate difference of religion, of temper, and of habits, between herſelf and her turbulent ſubjects. The ariſtocratical nature of the government, the power, the feuds, and the ferocity of the nobles, heightened by the circumſtances of the times, and above all by the fanaticiſm and fervour which ever accompanies the introduction of a new faith, and its ſtruggles with the prejudices and the power of that which it ſucceeds. The frenſy of bigotry, formidable even in more enlightened times, is, in ages of ignorance, uniformly terrible; while it triumphs in the ruins of bleeding humanity, like a deſtructive tempeſt it lays all waſte. When added to theſe circumſtances, the character of Elizabeth is conſidered, her juſt dread of the queen of Scots, and her power of humbling and deſtroying her rival, cold muſt be the heart that ſympathiſes not with the woes of the lovely and unfortunate Mary; cut off in the bloom of youth from the hopes and the joys of life; and deſtined to waſte her days in a long, a wretched, and weariſome captivity, terminating in a cruel and ignominious death. Let her firmneſs in her own principles be alſo recollected to her honour; the patience with which ſhe ſubmitted to the inſults of the reformers; the ſanguinary counſels which, amidſt exaſperated factions, ſhe muſt often have rejected; and the gentleneſs and moderation with which ſhe conducted herſelf in proſperity. "She was," ſays Camden, "a lady fixed and conſtant in her religion, of ſingular piety towards God, invincible magnanimity of mind, wiſdom above her ſex, and admirable beauty; and to be ranked in the liſt of thoſe perſons who have exchanged their grandeur for miſery and calamity."

Robertſon's Hiſtory of Scotland, &c.—Stuart's Life of Mary, Queen of Scots—Whitaker's Mary Queen of Scots Vindicated—Hume's Hiſtory of England, &c.

CATHERINE MACAULAY GRAHAM.

THIS lady, who, by her writings, and the powers of her mind, has reflected so much credit on her sex and country, was born about the year 1733, at her father's seat at Ollantigh, near Ashford in Kent. Her paternal and maternal grandfathers were both concerned in the South-sea scheme, in which fatal speculation they had considerable fortunes engaged. The former, Mr. Jacob Sawbridge, was a banker in London, a director of the South-sea company, a member of parliament, and one of those who, on the breaking up of the scheme, was, to appease the clamours of the sufferers, deprived of his seat in the house, and fined to the amount of a great part of his property. With the wreck of his fortunes, and what had been settled on his son by marriage articles, he was enabled to purchase the estate of Ollantigh, which the family still possess. From a paragraph in his grand-daughter's History of England, it appears, that Mr. Sawbridge, though carried along with the tide of other men's iniquity in the South-sea scheme, was guiltless of any intentional defraud or wrong; that he protested, both publicly and privately, against every unfair method taken by the directors to give an unnatural rise to the stock; and that it was generally acknowledged that govern-

ment, in order to calm the people, confounded, on this occasion, the innocent with the guilty.

The maternal grandfather of Mrs. Macaulay was a Mr. Wanley, who, dying, left one daughter, heiress to a fortune of more than 30,000*l.* Mr. Sawbridge, her father, was, in his youth, an officer in the Guards, but retired early to his estate in the country, where he led an inactive life. Her mother, a beautiful woman, with a delicate and feeble constitution, died before she was twenty years of age, after having borne two sons and two daughters. The late alderman Sawbridge was the eldest of these sons. The younger entered into the church, and died in the year 1796. The eldeſt daughter married a gentleman of fortune in the county of Kent. The younger, Catherine, having loſt her mother in the firſt period of infancy, was deprived of the benefit of maternal tenderness and care. Her father, who severely felt the loss of his wife, almost entirely secluded himself from society, though possessed of a fortune of 3000*l.* a-year. He paid no attention to the education of his daughters, who were left at the family seat, at Ollantigh, to the charge of an antiquated, well recommended, but ignorant, governess, ill qualified for the task she undertook. Mr. Sawbridge satisfied himself with occasional visits to his family, to assure himself of their health and safety.

Under the superintendence of this woman, they

grew together, while their minds and characters, as directed by other circumstances, took a different turn. The eldest daughter, whose temper was placid and amiable, while she improved in health and strength, derived amusement from her baby-house, and from the customary avocations of her sex and age. The younger, Catherine, found nothing to interest her attention in her sister's pursuits; active and curious, she thirsted for knowledge, and her dolls could give her no information. The books which were put into her hands entertained her for a time, while they interested her imagination, and gratified her taste for novelty: but at length she became satiated with fairy tales and romances, which afforded not aliment sufficiently substantial to satisfy the cravings of her enquiring mind. Having found her way into her father's well-furnished library, she became her own purveyor, and rioted in intellectual luxury. Every hour in the day, which no longer hung heavy upon her hands, was now occupied and improved. She first made choice of the periodical writers, the Spectators, Guardian, &c. who, in treating of morals and manners, led her to reflection, while they opened and strengthened her mind. As she advanced in age, her studies took a wider range; she grew attached to history, and dwelt with delight and ardour on the annals of the Greek and Roman

republics. Their laws and manners interested her understanding, the spirit of patriotism seized her, and she became an enthusiast in the cause of freedom. The heroic characters and actions with which this period of history is intermingled and enlivened, seldom fail to captivate the affections of a youthful and uncorrupted heart. All other books were thrown aside; history became her darling passion, and liberty the idol of her imagination. Rollin's Ancient History, and his Account of the Roman Republic, first lighted up that spark in her mind, which afterwards blazed with so much fervour and splendour, and which gave the tone to her sentiments and character through the subsequent periods of her life. To a spirit thus excited, retirement, by concentrating its force, added strength: the world, with its lax principles and vicious habits, had not yet broken in upon the gay mistakes of the just expanding heart, enamoured of truth and virtue, and ignorant of the difficulties which retard and obstruct their progress,—

Oh youth! the lovely source of generous errors!

From early habits of seclusion, it became the choice of Catherine: ordinary amusements and occupations were tasteless to a spirit wrought to higher views and purposes; great delicacy, talents, and sensibility, united in the female mind, rarely fail to inspire a distaste for common intercourse. From the

world of frivolity, flattery, and dissipation, she shrunk back to a more improving world of her own. In the course of her historical studies, the pictures of vice and turpitude which occasionally presented themselves, while they roused her indignation, excited the astonishment of her inexperienced heart; the feelings of which were called forth, exercised, and exalted. The history of the despotism and tyranny of a few individuals, and the slavish subjection of uncounted millions, their passive acquiescence, their sufferings, and their wrongs, appeared to her a moral problem, which she had no instruments to solve. She had yet to learn the force of prescription, of habit, and of association, the imitative and progressive nature of the human mind, and the complicated springs by which it is set in motion. She deeply reflected on the subject of government, with its influence on the happiness and virtue of mankind: she became anxious that the distance should be diminished that separates man from man; and to see extended over the whole human race those enlightened sentiments, equal laws, and equitable decisions, that might restore to its due proportion a balance so ill adjusted, and combine with the refinement of a more advanced age the simplicity and virtue of the earlier periods. Fraught with these ideas, and with a heart glowing with good-

will towards her species, she took up her pen, and gave to the most interesting portion of the history of her country a new spirit and interest.

A female historian, by its singularity, could not fail to excite attention: she seemed to have stepped out of the province of her sex; curiosity was sharpened, and malevolence provoked. The author was attacked by petty and personal scurrilities, to which it was believed her sex would render her vulnerable. Her talents and powers could not be denied; her beauty was therefore called in question, as if it was at all concerned with the subject; or that, to instruct our understandings, it was necessary at the same time to charm our senses. 'She is deformed (said her adversaries, wholly unacquainted with her person), she is unfortunately ugly, she despairs of distinction and admiration as a woman, she seeks, therefore, to encroach on the province of man.' "These were the notions," said a lady * afterwards intimately connected with the historian, "that I was led to entertain of Mrs. Macaulay, previous to my introduction to her acquaintance. Judge then of my

* The late Mrs. Arnold of Leicester, an excellent and amiable woman, to whom I am indebted for materials for this memoir, and whose lamented death will, I trust, plead with her friends in my excuse for the mention of her name, and this tribute of respect to her memory.

surprise, when I saw a woman elegant in her manners, delicate in her person, and with features, if not perfectly beautiful, so fascinating in their expression, as deservedly to rank her face among the higher order of human countenances. Her height was above the middle size, inclining to tall; her shape slender and elegant; the contour of her face, neck, and shoulders, graceful. The form of her face was oval, her complexion delicate, and her skin fine; her hair was of a mild brown, long, and profuse; her nose between the Roman and the Grecian; her mouth small, her chin round, as was the lower part of her face, which made it appear to more advantage in front than in profile. Her eyes were beautiful as imagination can conceive, full of penetration and fire, but their fire softened by the mildest beams of benevolence; their colour was a fine dark hazel, and their expression the indication of a superior soul. Infirm health, too often the attendant on an active and highly cultivated understanding, gave to her countenance an extreme delicacy, which was peculiarly interesting. To this delicacy of constitution was added a most amiable sensibility of temper, which rendered her feelingly alive to whatever concerned those with whom she was connected either by nature or by friendship."

In her friendships, we are told by this lady, Mrs.

Macaulay was fervent, disinterested, and sincere; zealous for the prosperity, and for the moral improvement, of those whom she distinguished and loved. She was earnest, constant, and eloquent, in her efforts for rectifying the principles, and enlarging the minds, of her friends and connections. It was her favourite maxim, that universal benevolence, and a liberal way of thinking, were not only essential to the freedom and welfare of society, but to individual virtue, enjoyment, and happiness. There was no arrogance in her exhortations and counsels; her accents were not less mild and persuasive, than her reasoning was energetic and forcible. "In the course," says her friend, from whose communications the present account is extracted, "of my acquaintance with this most intelligent and amiable woman, I had an opportunity of studying every part of her character."

Towards the latter end of the year 1777, she was ordered by her physicians to the south of France, for the benefit of her health; in which journey Mrs. Arnold accompanied her. A low nervous fever, to which she was subject, had debilitated her frame, without deducting either from the force or activity of her mind. Nothing, during this excursion, escaped her observation; her conversations and remarks were at once acute and profound.

After crossing the sea, on which she was se-

verely exhausted by sickness, she rested two days at Calais, where she soon experienced, from the change of air, and possibly from the sea sickness itself, a salutary effect. Her fever seemed to have left her, and she suffered in the remainder of her journey to Paris but little inconvenience. She was greatly struck with the different appearance of the inhabitants of the two countries, as also with the face of the country itself. Between Calais and Paris, she looked in vain for the healthy and well-fed peasant; the beautiful and luxuriant meadows, the cultivated farms, and comfortable farm-houses, of her native island. Despotism had palsied the hand of industry; an indigent and miserable people appeared thinly scattered over wild and dreary plains. The reflections which she made on this occasion, raised in her opinion the country which she had quitted; where, in comparative freedom, commerce and the arts grew and flourished. She praised, and quoted, the sentiments and remarks of Dr. Smollet on the same subject. The travellers stopped one day at Chantilly, where they met with two of their friends, and where they had an opportunity of observing a royal residence *, and contrasting it with the wretchedness which they had so recently

* The palace of the prince of Condé.

witnessed. Mrs. Macaulay was not in a state of health to bear the fatigue of inspecting the palace. To Dr. Nash, one of the gentlemen whom she met at Chantilly, and who would, with apparent satisfaction, have described to her the curiosities and magnificence of the prince's residence, she replied (after thanking him courteously for the trouble he was about to give himself), that she would spare him the repetition, since she could receive no pleasure in hearing of the splendour of one mortal, while the misery of thousands pressed upon her recollection.

As they proceeded towards the capital, the face of the country, and the looks of its inhabitants, gradually improved; but, at the first post-house at which they stopped to change horses, the feelings of the travellers were again excited by the objects which, crowding around their carriage, clamorously implored their charitable donations, while they exhibited in their persons and squalid appearance every variety of want and of human wretchedness. 'My God! my God!' exclaimed Mrs. Macaulay, with a benevolent enthusiasm, bursting into tears, 'have mercy on the works of thine own hand!' She made her servant distribute to them each three livres, and divided among them the provisions she had in the carriage. For some miles after this incident she preserved a profound silence; at length, taking the hand of her fellow-traveller in hers—'You, my

dear friend,' said she, 'saw yesterday the habitation of the prince of Condé, and his family at dinner!'—She paused, unable to proceed, but by a look that conveyed her meaning more eloquently than words*.

The apartments provided for the travellers, near the Luxembourg palace, on their arrival at Paris, were commodious and elegant. Mrs. Macaulay found her health so much amended by the journey, that, in a few days, she collected around her, by her letters of introduction, an agreeable society. Persons of the first rank and eminence were gratified with the opportunity of paying their respects to an Englishwoman, whose talents entitled her to distinction. Among the number of her visitors were the family of the count de Sarsfield; the dukes of Harcourt and Liancourt; the chevalier de Rigemont; the abbé Colbert, a descendant of the great financier of that name; madame Boccage, madame Grigson, &c. with lord Stormont, the English embassador. Dr. Franklin was at that time in Paris; Mrs. Macaulay met him several times, among the literati of Paris, at dinners given on her account, but she never received him at her hotel. During a day which she passed at monsieur Turgot's, with a large party, she

* Alas! the people have but too severely retaliated on these princes and nobles!

was introduced to the celebrated Marmontel, and to the widow of the philosopher Helvetius, a woman of an extraordinary character. In these societies, so congenial to her disposition, she experienced a high gratification, and appeared with peculiar spirit and advantage. The pleasure which she inspired was equally lively with that which she received: the universal information which her conversation displayed, appeared to her auditors not less admirable than her historical acquisitions, and the powers of her mind *. Her brilliant talents for conversation, with the variety of her knowledge, and the vivacity of her imagination, rendered her a most interesting and instructive companion.

With a mind too enlightened for bigotry, and an enemy to mere forms of devotion, often absurd, and

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* "Hear her but reason on divinity" (says her friend, from Shakespear),

"And all admiring, with an inward wish,
Would straight desire that she were made a prelate:
Hear her debate of commonwealth affairs,
You 'd say it had been *all in all* her study:
Turn her to any course of policy,
The gordian knot of it she will unloose
Familiar as her garter. When she speaks,
The air, a charter'd libertine, is still,
And the mute wonder lurketh in men's ears,
To steal her sweet and honied sentences."

always spiritless, the freedom with which she delivered her sentiments on these subjects, drew upon her the imputation of scepticism and infidelity. These assertions are declared, by her friend, to have been ill founded, as proved by some passages in her treatise on the "Immutability of Truth." "She confirmed the reality of her prepossession," says the lady already quoted, "in favour of the christian revelation, by the most diligent cultivation of benevolence towards mankind, and the most exact moral rectitude in every action of her life." "She had those hopes, and that confident expectation of her own future happiness, which christian faith and conscious rectitude only can inspire." In testimony of this opinion, Mrs. Arnold refers to a conversation which passed between herself and Mrs. Macaulay, when her health was in a languishing state, at Abbeville, in their way to Paris. After reproving her friend's too great sensibility and solicitude on her account, "I thought and hoped," said she, "that you viewed my death but as a short separation between virtuous friends, and that your assurance of a re-union with me, in a more perfect state, would have preserved you from being thus severely affected by the idea of my dissolution." She went on to console her companion and fellow-traveller in the same strain—"Consider our parting," said she, "but as a short privation; for, be assured, the friendship of

the good will not be dissolved by death: we shall again unite in another life." The feeble state of her frame, and consequent sufferings, she said, naturally led her to these reflections. She considered the present state of being but as the dawning of existence, nor did she shrink from its termination as a subject of terror, but was rather prepared to meet her change with confidence and satisfaction. Her researches, she observed, into the nature of God and of man, and the relations subsisting between them, would have been vain, had it not brought her to this conclusion; vain also would have been her convictions of the truth of the christian revelation, and the recompence which its author promises to his disciples. She trusted, she declared, in that Being, who had not given her capacities of enjoyment for no adequate end, that he would preserve and support her through the various stages of an everlasting existence. She lamented the prevalence of sense, and the pursuits by which the mind, capable of sublimer flights, was bound down to earth and inferior gratifications. She called upon her friend to observe and to witness, that, in her present enfeebled situation, her prospects grew brighter with her progress towards the grave: she anticipated the period when her spirit, disencumbered of its tenement, should no longer be impeded in its aspirations and researches, and when, in the presence

of the Supreme Intelligence, it should find the sources of knowledge, of science, and of beauty, laid open to its view, while its capacities and powers should expand without bounds. In this exalted and visionary strain she continued, at intervals, through the day to expatiate; while she seemed to derive peculiar pleasure from the idea of the future re-union of the virtuous: a cheering and delightful notion to susceptible and tender minds!

Her visit to Paris was critically timed, at the period when Great Britain, at war with her colonies, beheld the French government with a jealous eye. The *habeas corpus* act was also at that time suspended in England. In these circumstances, Mrs. Macaulay was peculiarly cautious to give no offence to the administration of her country, by entering with too much fervor into the cause of the Americans; or by appearing to have any other views in her excursion to France (by which the colonies were assisted and favoured), than for the benefit and restoration of her health. During the six weeks that she remained in Paris, her apartments were crowded with visitors, and her invitations to dinner daily multiplied. Among the Americans who were at that time numerous at Paris, those who were eminent for their learning or talents seized every opportunity of observing the fair historian, and mingling in the societies she was accustomed to frequent. Apprehen-

sive, from these circumstances, lest her conduct should be misconstrued, and finding her health much amended since she had quitted England, she determined to give up the idea of proceeding southward, and the rather as the season of the year was unfavourable to travelling, and to the accommodations indispensable to an invalid. The end of her journey was in part accomplished, and business rendered her presence necessary at home. These motives combined to influence her to bid adieu to the hospitable societies at Paris, and to return once more to her native land. In a letter to Dr. Franklin, before her departure, she informed him of the motives by which she had been induced to wave the satisfaction of seeing him and his American friends at her hotel. The circumstances of the times, and of her known republican principles, rendered her liable to suspicions; and the suspension of the *habeas corpus* act in England to consequences, which, in the delicate state of her health, could not but prove fatal.—"The whole tenor of my conduct must have convinced you, sir," says she, towards the conclusion of her letter, "that I should with pleasure sacrifice my life, could it be of any *real service* to the cause of public freedom. I am now nursing my constitution, to enable me to treat at large, in the history in which I am at present engaged, on our fatal civil war. I am, sir, with profound respect for your

great qualities, as a statesman, patriot, and philosopher, yours, &c. &c."

Having been personally acquainted with the greater number of the celebrated Americans who had visited England, and in the habit of corresponding with those who had distinguished themselves on the other side of the Atlantic, Mrs. Macaulay was very desirous of making a visit to the transatlantic republic; a design which she executed in 1785. She visited nine of the thirteen united states, by whom she was received with kindness and hospitality. She terminated her journey to the south by paying her respects to general Washington, at his seat at Mount Vernon in Virginia. Under the roof of this illustrious man she remained three weeks; and continued to correspond with him during the remainder of her life.

It seemed to have been her intention, after her return to England, to have composed a history of the American contest; for which purpose she had been furnished by general Washington with many materials. It is to be regretted that, thus qualified, she was, by the infirm state of her health for some years prior to her death, prevented from the execution of her plan. She resided during the greater part of the remainder of her life at Binfield in Berkshire; where, after a tedious illness, attended by

much suffering, which she supported with exemplary patience and fortitude, she expired, June 22, 1791. She was interred in the chancel of Binfield church, under an elegant marble monument executed by Mr. Bacon.

She was twice married: the first time to Dr. George Macaulay, a physician of some eminence in London; and, after his death, to Mr. William Graham, who had also been educated to the profession of physic, but who afterwards entered into the church. A daughter was the fruit of her first marriage; who gave her hand to captain Gregory, many years a commander in the East-India service, in which he acquired an ample fortune: his wife has since become a widow, with four children.

Dr. Wilson, whose enthusiastic admiration of the talents of Mrs. Macaulay was perhaps demonstrated rather extravagantly, was introduced to her by her brother, Mr. Sawbridge: they were both members of the Bill of Rights club; and had been united by their political sentiments.

After the marriage of Mrs. Macaulay with Mr. Graham, she retired with her husband to their house at Binfield, upon Windsor-forest; where, with congenial tastes and dispositions, they passed their time in literary avocations and pursuits.

Mrs. Macaulay, when in tolerable health, was ac-

customed to be in her library by six in the morning: she was tenacious of the value of time, and solicitous for its improvement.

The lady, from whose communications the preceding account is extracted, adds an earnest and affectionate testimony to the domestic qualifications and virtues of her friend; who, as a wife, a mother, a friend, a neighbour, and the mistress of a family, was irreproachable and exemplary. "My sentiments," says she, "of this admirable woman are derived from a long and intimate acquaintance with her various excellences, and I have observed her in different points of view. I have seen her exalted on the dangerous pinnacle of worldly prosperity, surrounded by flattering friends, and an admiring world; I have seen her marked out by party prejudice as an object of dislike and ridicule; I have seen her bowed down by bodily pain and weakness: but never did I see her forget the urbanity of a gentlewoman, her conscious dignity as a rational creature, or a fervent aspiration after the highest degree of attainable perfection. I have seen her humble herself in the presence of her Almighty Father; and, with a contrite heart, acknowledging her weakness, and imploring his protection; I have seen her languishing on the bed of sickness, enduring pain with the patience of a christian, and with the firm belief, that the light

afflictions of this life are but for a moment, and that the fashion of this world will pass away, and give place to a system of durable happiness."

Her works are:

1. The History of England, from the Accession of James I. to the Elevation of the House of Hanover; printed in successive volumes in quarto, making in all eight volumes. The first volume was printed before the year 1769. The eighth and last volume was published in the year 1783. This volume, ending with James II.'s reign, did not complete the design expressed in the title-page; the history may, however, be considered as continued in

2. The History of England, from the Revolution to the present Time, in a Series of Letters to the Rev. Dr. Wilson, Rector of St. Stephen's, Walbrook, and Prebendary of Westminster; published in one volume in quarto in 1778.

3. A Treatise on the Immutability of Truth, by Catharine Macaulay Graham, octavo, 1783.

4. Letters on Education.

5. Loose Remarks on certain Positions to be found in Mr. Hobbie's Philosophical Rudiments of Government and Society, with a short Sketch of a Democratical Form of Government; in a Letter to Signior Paoli: octavo, 1767.

6. Observations on a Pamphlet, entitled, Thoughts on the Causes of the present Discontent. The fifth edition, published in octavo, in the year 1770.

7. An Address to the People of England, Scotland, and Ireland, on the present important Crisis of Affairs; by Catharine Macaulay, octavo, second edition, 1775.

8. A Modest Plea for the Property of Copy-right, quarto; by Catharine Macaulay.

9. Observations on the Reflections of the Right Honourable Edmund Burke on the Revolution in France, in a Letter to the Right Honourable the Earl of Stanhope, 1790.

MÆROE.

Mæroe, famed by the ancients for her extraordinary learning, and particularly remembered for a hymn to Neptune.

JULIA MŒSA AND MAMMÆA.

JULIA MŒSA, the sister of Julia Domna (the widow of the emperor Severus), was, after the death * of the latter, ordered to leave the country. She accordingly retired to Emesa, with an immense fortune, and her two daughters, Sœmias and Mammæa, each a widow, with an only son. Bassianus, the son of the former, was consecrated high-priest of the Sun; a vocation, whether embraced from prudence or superstition, which contributed to raise him to empire. A numerous body of troops was stationed at Emesa, who, resorting in crowds to the temple, beheld, with mingled veneration and delight, the figure and elegant dress of the youthful pontiff, in whom they believed they recognised the features of Caracalla, whose memory his liberality had endeared to them. The politic Mœsa cherished this rising partiality, and, sacrificing the reputation of her daughter to the fortune of her grandson, insinuated that Bassianus owed his birth to the murdered emperor. The sums distributed by her emissaries with lavish hands completed the seduction, and confirmed the resemblance. Bassianus was in consequence

* See Memoirs of Julia Domna, vol. IV. p. 476.

declared emperor by the troops of Emesa, who, asserting his hereditary right, called aloud on the armies to follow the standard of a young and liberal prince, who had taken arms to avenge the death of his father, and to relieve the oppressions of the military order under Macrinus, the successor and supposed instigator of the assassination of Caracalla.

This conspiracy, concerted by women, was conducted with equal prudence, vigour, and rapidity. Macrinus having neglected, by a decisive motion, to check his infant enemy, after floating some time between terror and security, marched to meet the forces of the young pretender, whose army received hourly accessions. The prætorian guards under Macrinus, asserting the superiority of their valour and discipline, had broken the adversary's ranks, when the mother and grandmother of the prince, throwing themselves from their covered chariots, in which they had followed the troops, re-animated their courage, by exciting their compassion and sympathy. Bassianus, in this crisis of his fate, approved himself, for the only time in his life, a man and a hero: mounted on horseback, at the head of his rallied forces, he charged sword in hand among the thickest of his enemies. The battle still raged with doubtful fury, when Macrinus, by a precipitate flight, betrayed his own cause, and, by his cowardice, protracted for a few days an ignomi-

nious life. The prætorians, perceiving they fought for a prince by whom they were basely deserted, resisted no longer, but surrendered themselves to the conqueror. The armies uniting, mingled with their embraces tears of joy, and joined their banners with those of their countrymen, under the pretended son of Caracalla, whom they acknowledged with pleasure as the first emperor of Asiatic extraction. The victor announced his conquest to the senate in specious letters, filled with professions of virtue and moderation.

The Sun being worshipped at Emesa under the name of Heliogabalus, and in the form of a black conical stone, believed to have fallen from heaven, the new emperor ascribed his elevation to this protecting deity, whose name he assumed; a name dearer to him than the titles of imperial greatness.

By the contemptible superstition, effeminacy, dissoluteness, and weakness of his subsequent conduct, Heliogabalus compelled even the licentious soldiery, who had raised him to the throne, to blush for the infamy of their choice. Turning with sorrow and disgust from this monster of vice and folly, they observed with pleasure the opening virtues of his cousin Alexander, son of Mammæa, whom their grandmother Mœsa, aware that Heliogabalus must fall a victim to his crimes, had provided as a surer support of their family dignity. Having availed herself of a moment

of fondness and fanaticism, she prevailed on the emperor to invest Alexander with the title of Cæsar, and to relieve himself from the weight of earthly cares, which interfered with his own divine occupations *.

The young prince acquired in his elevation the affections of the public, and roused the jealousy of his cousin, who determined to corrupt his manners, or, failing in his brutal purpose, to take away his life. By the prudence of Mammæa these designs against her son were frustrated; when Heliogabalus, enraged at his defeat, degraded Alexander, by a despotic sentence, from the rank to which he had raised him. The message from the throne for this purpose was, by the senate, received in silence; but, by the soldiers, who swore to protect the prince, and to avenge the dishonoured purple, with a just indignation.

The emperor, terrified at the consequences of his arrogance, and at the storm he had provoked, had recourse to the most abject submissions, while, with tears, he intreated the soldiery, whose resistance he had provoked, to spare his life, and to content themselves with his abasement. Having listened to his supplication, they for the present satisfied

* A. D. 221.

themselves with appointing præfects to watch over the life of their favourite Alexander.

Heliogabalus, impatient under insults he wanted courage to repel, resolved on an experiment replete with danger.

To try the temper of the army, he caused a report to be circulated that Alexander was no more: the passions and suspicions of the camp were roused by this rumour, nor was the tumult calmed without the presence and authority of the supposed victim. Irritated at this new instance of his power and influence, the emperor dared to punish some of the leaders of the mutiny; a temerity which proved instantly fatal. The tyrant was, with his mother, massacred by the enraged prætorians, his mangled body dragged through the city, his remains thrown into the Tyber, and his memory branded with infamy.

His cousin Alexander, then only seventeen years of age, was, on this catastrophe, immediately raised to the imperial dignity. His grandmother Mœsa, and his mother Mammæa, held, in his name, the reins of government; but the former surviving the elevation of her grandson but a short period, the regency was vested solely in Mammæa. It was not the ostentation but the substance of power which was the object of the ambition of Mammæa, who maintained over the mind of her son an absolute ascen-

dancy. With her consent the young monarch espoused the daughter of a patrician: but jealous of the influence of his wife, she prevailed on her son, after a short period, to banish her into Africa. To this act of cruel policy, a charge of avarice is brought against Mammæa, whose administration is nevertheless acknowledged by historians to have been equally beneficial to the emperor and the empire.

With the approbation of the senate, she selected sixteen of the wisest and most worthy of its members as a perpetual council of state, before whom every public measure of importance was debated. At the head of these was the celebrated Ulpian, distinguished for his knowledge of the laws, and his respect for their authority. Order and firmness were by these prudent measures restored to the government: the city was cleansed from the pollutions of Heliogabalus; luxury was checked; superstition discouraged; the creatures of the late emperor were removed from administrations, and their places supplied with men of virtue and talents. The only recommendations to civil offices were learning and the love of equity; and valour and discipline, the qualifications required for military employments. Mammæa, assisted by her counsellors, superintended with unremitting attention the education of the young monarch, whose character and mind,

on which the happiness of millions depended, they wisely sought to form on the highest models. Nor were their labours unrewarded: as the understanding of the prince became enlightened he perceived the advantages of virtue, the pleasures of knowledge, and the utility of application. His passions mild and moderate, his reason assiduously cultivated, preserved him from the allurements of pleasure, and the seductions of vice; while his respect for Ulpian, and the rational affection of his mother, guarded his youth from the poison of flattery. Public business, literature, the study of history, of philosophy, and of man, together with the exercises of the body, which diversified and occupied his time, left him little leisure for frivolous amusements and pernicious indulgences. His repasts were frugal, his manners simple, and his relaxation the society of a few select and learned friends: with these he held instructive and familiar conversations, which the recital of some agreeable or elegant composition occasionally varied and enlivened. The dress of the emperor was plain, his temper conciliating, and his palace at certain hours open to all his subjects, while the voice of a crier pronounced aloud, "Let none enter these holy walls, unless he be conscious of a pure and innocent mind."

The Roman empire had, during a term of forty years, been scourged by the vices of four successive

tyrants: a *woman* bestowed on the afflicted provinces happiness and peace: the reign of Alexander, under the influence of Mammæa, proved, for thirteen years, a delightful interval from misery and oppression. The empire, relieved from its taxes, flourished in tranquillity; the magistrates became convinced by experience, that to deserve the confidence of the people was the only method of obtaining favour from the sovereign; while statesmen might have learned, that wisdom and integrity are the truest policy, and that the safety of the rulers is in the happiness of the people. Some gentle restraints were imposed on the luxury of the nation; the price of provisions, and the interest of money, were reduced; while the prudence and liberality of the government, without oppressing industry, supplied the wants of the unfortunate, and provided for the public recreation. The dignity and freedom of the senate were restored, and every senator might approach the throne without fear or shame. It was the study of Alexander and his mother to restore to the empire the glory and happiness of the age of the Antonines: but, satisfied with the substance of virtue, the emperor magnanimously refused the lustre of a name, so often prostituted, which the people and the senate sought to press upon him.

In the zeal of reformation the emperor ventured

a step too far, and unhappily precipitated his fate. A licentious soldiery, who in the vices of his predecessors had too often found their account, murmured at the restraints which a virtuous policy opposed to their encroachments. Accustomed to a lawless life, and impatient of limits to their power, they resisted the control of authority, and sacrificed to their resentment the father of his people, and with him the happiness of the empire. After a reign of thirteen years, Alexander perished, with his mother, March 19th, 235.

Gibbon's Decline of the Roman Empire.

MADAME DE MAINTENON.

THIS celebrated woman, the vicissitudes of whose life, and whose extraordinary fortune, might afford a subject for a romance, was the grand-daughter of Theodore Agrippa d'Aubigné, who, brought up with Henry IV. in the court of Jane d'Albret, queen of Navarre, distinguished himself by his writings, and by his zeal for the Reformation. Having served under Henry with courage and fidelity, in all his campaigns, on his master's embracing the catholic religion, he retired to his own estate in Poitou, and employed himself in this retreat in the composition of a history of his own times, in which he had been a distinguished actor. Susanna de Lezay, of the

house of Lusignan, whom he espoused, bore to him three children, a son and two daughters.

The son proved unfortunate, and appears by his conduct to have merited his fate: having been accused of counterfeiting the current specie, he was confined in the château *Trompette de Bourdeaux*, where he married Jane, daughter of Peter de Cardillac, lieutenant to the duke d'Epernon, and his deputy in the government. This lady, a prudent and amiable woman, remained faithful to her husband through all his distresses; and, in the marshalsea of Niort, gave birth to a daughter, Frances d'Aubigné, the subject of this memoir.

Madame de Villette, sister to M. d'Aubigné, visited him and his wife during this season of calamity. The following is the description of the affecting situation in which she found them:—"Madame de Villette beheld her relations in all the horrors of indigence; her brother emaciated with hunger, and by despair deprived of reason; their eldest child wrapped in rags, and already sensible to the miseries of his condition; their second in the cradle, a girl two days old, who, by her piercing cries, seemed to invite death; the mother weeping and offering her breast, the milk of which famine and distress had dried up, alternately to her husband and her daughter, without hope of saving either." Madame de Villette

took the infant from this scene of misery, and placed her in the hands of a nurse, with whom she had entrusted her own child.

Madame d'Aubigné, after a few years, obtained liberty for her husband; with whom, and her family, in which the little Frances was included, she set out for America, where they still had considerable claims. During the voyage Frances was reduced by a malady which seized her to the verge of the grave: in the crisis of the disorder she lay without sense or motion, and was believed to be already dead. In this situation a sailor was going to throw her into the sea; the signal gun was already loaded, when madame d'Aubigné, melting into tears, requested to be allowed, once more, to press her infant in her arms. At this moment, placing her hand on her heart, she felt it faintly palpitate: 'It is not dead!' exclaimed she with a mother's joy; and by her cares, in a short time, restored the child to life and health. The vessel in which this unfortunate family were passengers, was, soon after, attacked by a corsair, but, having escaped, arrived safe at Martinico. There M. d'Aubigné re-established his fortunes, and enriched his family, when the settlement of some important affairs obliged his wife to return to Europe. During her absence he fell into dissipated habits, lost all his property at play, and,

on the return of madame d'Aubigné, was found by her ruined, and at the point of death.

The unhappy widow, in the hope of obtaining assistance, went back to France, leaving Frances, then seven years of age, as a pledge in the hands of her creditors, who passed the child, which they soon began to consider as a burthen, from one to the other, till the judge of the place, taking pity on the little orphan, received her into his house. She remained here but a short time; her benefactor becoming in his turn weary of the charge, sent her to Europe after her mother. On her return to her native country, she first fell into the hands of madame de Montalembert, her kinswoman, who refused to entertain her: madame de Villette, therefore, her paternal aunt, again received her, and instructed her in the calvinist religion.

Monsieur d'Aubigné had been no less sceptical in his opinions than relaxed in his conduct: when a child, it is related by his daughter, that he would frequently take her in his arms, and exclaim, 'Is it possible that you, who on other occasions have so much good sense, can yet give credit to all that is taught you in the catechism?' Madame d'Aubigné, however, was on this subject less indifferent; notwithstanding that, on her return to France, she had found their remaining effects swallowed up by

their creditors, and the rapacity of some of her husband's relations, she wished to take her daughter from under the protection of her aunt, lest she should be allured from the bosom of the catholic church. Madame de Villette refused to relinquish the child, on the plea that her mother was unable to support her: but this objection was over-ruled by a cousin of the late M. d'Aubigné's, a woman of a narrow and bigotted mind, who, to pay her court to the queen-mother, obtained an order to take the little Frances out of the hands of her aunt.

From madame de Neuillant, her new patroness, Frances suffered a severe persecution: having eagerly imbibed the principles of her late protectress, a worthy and amiable woman, to whom she was tenderly attached, she resisted every argument with which her faith was now assailed; till madame de Neuillant, determined to carry her point, and tired of gentle measures, had recourse to harshness and severity. With the view of subduing her spirit, she confounded her with the servants, degraded her to the lowest domestic offices, and banished her to the kitchen and court-yard. She went out every morning, with a mask on her face, to preserve her fine complexion, a straw hat on her head, a basket under her arm, and a switch in her hand, to watch the turkeys; with orders not to touch her breakfast, which she carried in the basket, till she had first committed to memory

five stanzas of sacred poetry. Madame de Neuillant, finding these measures unavailing to effect her purpose, and tired of the expence and obstinacy of her charge, whom she so ill knew how to vanquish, carried her to Niort, and placed her in a convent of Ursuline nuns, where her aunt, the worthy madame de Villette, agreed to pay for her board.

The young calvinist here suffered new importunities, more artfully and judiciously applied, to which, after a resistance uncommon at her age, she yielded but upon conditions. The principal article for which she stipulated was, that, in becoming a catholic, it should not be required of her to believe, that her dear aunt, madame de Villette, who lived like a saint in this world, should be damned for her heresy in the next. After her conversion to the Romish church, she was taken back to the house of madame de Neuillant. This lady went occasionally to Paris in a sedan chair, carried by two mules, on one of which mademoiselle d'Aubigné used to ride. She introduced her to the company with which she was accustomed to associate, boasted in public of her growing charms, and exercised over her in private all the tyranny which dependents are liable to suffer from ostentatious benefactors. The young lady, already very lovely, promised to be a beauty. Her figure and understanding were equally above her years.

Mademoiselle d'Aubigné was about thirteen years of age, when her patroness took her, for the first time, to communicate with the Ursuline nuns, with whom she continued to reside. She rarely went out excepting to visit her mother, who supported herself by her labour; or with madame de Neuillant, when she was pleased to exhibit her to her friends. Having been introduced to the celebrated monsieur Scarron, she met at his house select parties, and the best company in Paris, who were eager to form the character of the beautiful Frances, and among whom she received the title of the *fair Indian*. She listened to the lessons and the conversations of these gentlemen, by which her talents received cultivation, and her mind became improved, without suffering them to corrupt her principles. The powers which she displayed in this society, and the letters which she addressed to them from Poitou, whither some time after she attended madame de Neuillant, procured her respect and reputation.

Her mother, who had been reduced to live on an annuity of two hundred and fifty livres*, died without the satisfaction of leaving to her children even this scanty stipend. Her son had been placed, as a page, with M. de Parabere: her daughter still

* 10l. 8s. 4d.

continued with madame de Neuillant, in circumstances which her beauty, her youth, and her poverty, rendered peculiarly critical and dangerous.

M. Scarron was no stranger to the history of mademoiselle d'Aubigné: though not rich, he was enabled by a canonry, and the remains of his patrimony, to keep a good table: deformed in his figure, deprived of the use of his limbs, tortured with the gout, and laden with infirmities, he still preserved a fund of wit and humour, that appeared to be unconquerable, and which rendered his company acceptable to the young and the gay. He began to think seriously, perhaps for the first time in his life, of the situation of his fair visitor, which the death of her mother had left still more forlorn and hopeless. His reflections at length terminated in a resolution to offer to her the choice of two alternatives; either a certain sum of money, to enable her to take the veil, or, if she chose rather to remain in the world, to accept of his hand, and become his wife. The lady, after some hesitation, gave a preference to the marriage; a measure to which madame de Neuillant refused not her assent, stipulating only that it should be deferred for two years, when mademoiselle d'Aubigné would have completed her seventeenth year. This interval was afterwards abridged one half, at the intercession of the bridegroom, and the nuptials were accordingly celebrated,

in April 1651. In the marriage contract, Scarron acknowledged the receipt of an annuity of four louis-d'ors, as the whole fortune of his wife; adding pleasantly, 'two large murdering eyes, a most elegant figure, a pair of beautiful hands, and a great deal of wit.' These riches were, however, but little calculated to make amends to the bridegroom for the loss of the canonry, the yearly revenue of which had been two thousand livres. Scarron, nevertheless, still managed to keep up his table, and to draw around him the company, which his habits and infirmities rendered almost indispensable. Of these parties his young wife was the ornament and the delight: by her graceful manner of telling a story, she frequently made her hearers forget the deficiencies of their entertainment: a domestic whispered to her one day, 'Another story, madam, for the roast is too small to-day.' But the income of Scarron, notwithstanding the economy and management of his wife, falling short of his expenditure, applications were made for a contribution, which, by the credit of his friends, were rendered successful. Mad. Scarron prudently declined appearing on this occasion, lest she should be exposed to solicitations injurious to her honour. She scarcely ever left, for a moment, her *poor paralytic*, as she was accustomed to call her husband: when ill, she was his nurse; when a little revived and cheered, his friend and com-

panion; and at all times his amanuensis and reader. She learned from him the rules of composition, and to express herself with eloquence and ease; she acquired also the Latin, Spanish, and Italian languages, but without losing her modesty, or overvaluing herself on her attainments. Among the witty and licentious associates of her husband, she appeared with unaffected dignity, and, by the propriety and purity of her manners, without laying a restraint on their pleasures, awed them into decency, and preserved their respect. Her acquaintance was courted by persons of both sexes, of the first rank and talents. Amidst this gay and sprightly society, who were accustomed to regard with levity too rigid observances, madame Scarron scrupulously discharged what she conceived to be the duties of religion; nor would she dispense, notwithstanding their raillery, with the ceremonies and fasts enjoined by the Romish church, of which she had become a sincere proselyte. Her example affected her husband; and, in his last illness, he was influenced by her exhortations to express a sincere repentance for the errors of his past life. During Lent, madame Scarron, at the head of her table, was accustomed to eat only a herring, and immediately afterwards to retire to her apartment. A profligate associate of her husband's (so sincere is the deference which true delicacy inspires) frequently declared, that, if com-

pelled to utter an equivocal expression before either the queen or madame Scarron, he should not hesitate a moment to trespass on the former. A high and just compliment! Her youth and the circumspection of her behaviour, in a situation so delicate and peculiar, excited esteem and admiration, and at length recommended her to the notice of the queen, to whom she had been mentioned by the baron de la Garde.

In October, 1660, madame Scarron, after having lived near ten years with her husband, became a widow, in the bloom of youth and beauty, with but scanty means of support. A pension had been allowed to M. Scarron, by cardinal Richelieu, for the continuance of which his widow petitioned in vain: her solicitations, could she have been prevailed upon to make them, would doubtless have succeeded better with Fouquet*; but she chose rather to suffer indigence, or to throw herself on the exertions and kindness of her friends, from whom she would accept money only as a loan. From the queen, who was informed of her distress, she at length obtained a pension of two thousand livres, with which she immediately retired to the convent *d'Hospitallars*, in the suburbs of *St. Marceau*. She contrived with her narrow pittance to preserve the neatness of her ap-

* The inspector of finance; a man notorious for peculation and libertinism.

pearance: her clothes were of the cheapest stuffs, and her linen plain; but her stockings, shoes, and under-garments, were of a superior texture; she even spared from her income a surplus for charitable purposes. But the death of the queen-mother, who survived only three years, and with whose life the pension ceased, renewed the difficulties and distress of the widow. An old duke about this period offered himself to her in marriage; which proposal, however flattering to her ambition, she thought proper to decline. When means of subsistence failed, she retired to the Ursuline nuns of St. James, who were willing to receive her, and with whom she had in her youth resided; and, when her circumstances became more favourable, she returned again to the world. She no longer appeared, but with a few exceptions, among those with whom she had associated during the life of her husband; her friends and companions were respectable and select. M. de Turenne, the count de Guise, the abbé d'Aumont, la Feuillade, Bellefonds, Bouillon, St. Luc, &c.; *mesdames* de Richelieu, de Montespan, de Coulanges, la Fayette, Sevigné, &c.; lady marshal d'Albret, and princess d'Ursini; formed a party, from which play was excluded, who were accustomed to assemble at the hotels d'Albret or de Richelieu, where they amused themselves with conversation, or in making extemporary verses. In this

society madame Scarron passed those hours which she afterwards declared were the happiest of her life. The following translation of an *impromptu*, which she produced as an epitaph for the duke de Richelieu, may serve to afford a specimen both of her talents and of their amusements:

Here lies Amand,
Whom Cupid gave, in malice to the fair,
His smile, his quiver, and his wings to wear.

With marshal d'Albret she had become acquainted during the life of her husband; this gentleman had introduced her to his wife, who, with some good qualities, possessed an inferior understanding, and with whom she had cultivated an intimacy. Madame d'Albret conceived for madame Scarron a warm attachment; and pressed her to reside wholly under her roof; an invitation which she prudently judged it proper to decline. By an entire complacency she strengthened the partiality of her friend, with whom she was accustomed to attend the theatre, and, sitting close beside her, to explain to her any passages of the drama, or transactions on the stage, which she did not clearly comprehend *.

* This same madame d'Albret, though a devotee, was addicted to the love of strong cordials: of her it is related, that seated one day at her toilette, and observing some redness on her nose, she suddenly exclaimed—'Where did I get this?' 'At the beaufet,' replied a wit, in a half whisper, who happened to stand behind her.

It was at the house of madame d'Albret that an intimacy was formed between mesdames Scarron and de Montespan, who was related to M. d'Albret: attracted by mutual talents, the acquaintance of these ladies soon ripened into friendship.

The harmony which reigned in this happy society was disturbed by the intrusion of calumny, from which madame Scarron, with all her circumspection, had too much merit to hope for an escape. It was pretended, that, under the mask of friendship for his lady, she cherished a passion for marshal d'Albret, and that de Mornay, marquis de Villarceaux, had avowed one for her: these malicious reports, which appear to have had no foundation in fact, determined her on withdrawing from the hotel d'Albret. She passed several summers with madame de Montchevreuil, a woman of unblemished character, and a relation of M. de Villarceaux; a circumstance which again exposed her to insidious comments. Her acquaintance with Ninon de l'Enclos, a woman whose talents, in despite of the irregularity of her conduct, had procured her admission in the first circles, was also eagerly misinterpreted to her disadvantage, by those whom her superiority humbled, or whose envy had been excited by her charms. But Ninon, though jealous of her understanding, had too much generosity not to do justice to her conduct. 'She is chaste,' said she, 'not so much from coldness of

constitution, as from weakness of mind. I would have cured her of this, but she was too much afraid of offending God.' Had she been inclined to a life of pleasure, she might certainly have found means, through her beauty and accomplishments, to remain in France, instead of forming a design of renouncing her country to procure a subsistence. The princess of Nemours, who was about to espouse the king of Portugal, impressed by the advantageous character she had heard of the widow Scarron, offered to take her in her suite. This proposition she was inclined to accept, when an incident occurred by which her prospects were changed.

Her old friend, madame de Montespan, having become the mistress of the king, moved in a sphere at a distance from her former connections. The widow Scarron wished to be presented to her, to see once more (as she said) the wonder of France, before she bade adieu to the kingdom. At the summit of grandeur, the favourite did not disdain the poverty of her old acquaintance: she talked with her of past occurrences, and of the present state of her affairs: having learned from her, that she had several times ineffectually petitioned the king for relief, she made her put into her hands a new memorial, which she promised to support with her influence. 'The widow Scarron again!' exclaimed the monarch, as she presented to him the paper. 'Sire,'

replied she, 'it is long since you ought no more to have been troubled about her: it is surprising that your majesty has not yet listened to the petition of a woman, whose ancestors were ruined in the service of yours!' This reproof produced the intended effect. The pension was granted, and madame Scarron saved from exile, and rescued from dependence.

Thus mistress of herself, she indulged her taste for devotion and retirement, unconsciously preserving herself for engagements which she soon after formed.

The princess des Ursins, whom she met at court, and who was well acquainted with her merit, confessed to her, that she had frequently, at their meeting at the hotel d'Albret, been mortified at seeing the marshal, and other noblemen, confer with her seriously on affairs of state, from the knowledge of which she was herself excluded, as too young and too gay for political confidence. Her friend, in return, avowed to her, with equal frankness, that she was no less wearied of these cabinet conferences, which had excited her jealousy; that she even regretted her character of sense and prudence, by which she was deprived of entertainments more agreeable to her sex and age, than the plans of statesmen, or the discontents of courtiers. Madame Scarron is said by her niece *, not to have been natu-

* Madame de Caylus.

rally formed for business. The rectitude of her mind led her to detest court-intrigue; while the charms of her conversation and manners, fitted her for the pleasures of society.

Madame de Montespan was about this period in search of a person to whom she might confide the education of those children which she had borne to the king: no one appeared to her more endowed for the charge, or more deserving of the trust, than the widow Scarron, whose circumstances, it was presumed, would induce her to listen eagerly to the proposal. But, whether from a desire of independence, or an aversion to constraint, or scruples respecting the employment as degrading to her birth and character, she steadily rejected the office, though solicited by her friends, and even by the minister, to accept it. This reluctance could only be overcome by the personal request of the king, who condescended himself to communicate to her his *will*.

Her objections had not been without foundation; the life to which she was now subjected, and which commenced about the year 1670, was severe and laborious. Her attentions to the duties she had undertaken were unremitting; night and day she watched with solicitude over the persons she employed in the care of the children: their slightest indispositions alarmed her, so great was her sensibility, even to the detriment of her own health: as if

really their mother, she trusted nothing to others, but what she was unable to perform for them herself. The king one morning surprised her, sustaining by one hand the duke de Maine who was ill with a fever, rocking mademoiselle de Nantz in her cradle with the other, and holding on her lap the sleeping count de Vexin. Touched by this scene, Lewis, whose disposition was affectionate, and who was a tender father, presented to the governess an hundred thousand francs*. Her pension had also been raised from two thousand livres to two thousand crowns. Thus was she supported under her fatigues, by the prospect of enjoying one day a competency, and liberty in any retreat to which she might choose to retire.

Amidst these occupations she found little leisure for the society of her old friends, whom, nevertheless, she did not entirely neglect: in their company she relaxed from her cares, and appeared not less agreeable and entertaining than before. "We supped last night," writes madame de Sevigné to her daughter, "with the widow Scarron. We found it very pleasant to conduct her, about midnight, to the farther end of the fauxbourg St. Germain, very near Vaugirard, in the country,

* About 4166*l.* sterling.

to a fine large house situated by itself. She has large gardens, and spacious and elegant apartments. She has a carriage, horses, and servants; she dresses richly, but modestly, just as becomes a woman who passes her life with people of quality. She is amiable, beautiful, good, and unaffected. Her conversation is very agreeable."

The situation of madame Scarron was far from pleasant, notwithstanding the advantages with which it was attended: though she contrived at times to meet her particular friends, her life was solitary, and her reputation equivocal: she was not at liberty to assign the cause of the change in her circumstances, and her estrangement from society: as an ostensible pretence for her retreat, she took into her house the child of a friend, whom she solicited from its mother. When madame de Montespan was seized with the pains of child-birth, the governess was immediately summoned, to receive and carry home with her the infant. Seven children were in this manner consigned by the mistress to the care of her friend. The eldest of these children died when about three months old: the grief of its governante on this occasion greatly exceeded that of the mother. The king, speaking on this subject, said it would be pleasant to be beloved by madame Scarron, she had so much sensibility in

her temper. These children being afterwards legitimated by the monarch, their governess removed with her charge to court, where she attached herself more particularly to the duke de Maine.

She was near forty years of age, when, in the year 1674, she was invited from her retirement to live with madame de Montespan, who wished to have her children under her own eye. If in her retreat she had passed for the mother of these children, brought up so mysteriously, she was regarded at Versailles as the complaisant friend of the mistress of the king—"But the world knew not what passed in private between these ladies; they knew not that one, under the pressure of remorse, went every evening to express to the other her penitence and her fears: that the governess, with the dignity of virtue, made remonstrances to the mistress that covered her with confusion; more especially when too evident proofs of her irregularity happened to appear." At the birth of one of her children, she wrote to her friend—"Come and see me; but do not stare with those large black eyes which fright me." The severity of her manners, or her troublesome remonstrances to the object of his passion, prejudiced the king against her: he considered her as a prude, and

would have been as well pleased had madame de Montespan dismissed her from her suite: when speaking of her to his mistress, he assumed a tone of sarcasm; 'Your genius,' 'Your *bel esprit*,' were the ironical terms which he used on these occasions. He was, like most men, disposed to regard with jealousy and suspicion an extraordinary share of wit or good sense in a woman: as he became more acquainted with her, he was struck, and sometimes humbled, by the power and variety of her talents: he even appeared jealous of her conversation with madame de Montespan, lest she should make comparisons to his disadvantage. But, at length, having become insensibly accustomed to her, he listened to her remonstrances with not less patience than his mistress. Other circumstances had contributed to alarm his conscience, which was delicate and scrupulous: the return of a jubilee, the solemn festivals, and the eloquence of the court preachers, who had the courage to attack the vices of the monarch, combined to rouse his attention. The famous apostrophe of the jesuit, imitated from the prophet Nathan, in his reproof to the adultery of David, '*Thou art the man*,' deeply affected the susceptible heart of Lewis. He formed with his mistress the plan of a separation,

which he essayed many means to effect, but the weakness of a moment frequently vanquished these salutary impressions.

Madame de Montespan herself did more towards strengthening the resolution of the king to part with her, than either the exhortations of the clergy, or the machinations of her enemies. Her attachment for her royal lover had in it more of ambition than of tenderness; she depended too much on the power of her charms, and disgusted him by the caprice and the violence of her temper. As her influence declined, that of the widow Scarron grew in proportion: in her the king, accustomed and attached to the society of women, ever met a friend, mild, modest, reasonable, and possessed of an admirable understanding. With her moderation and forbearance the rage and the vexation of the mistress increased; of the consequences of which the governess was not fully aware. The situation of madame Scarron, exposed hourly to the capricious temper of the favourite, became too uneasy to be long supported: she meditated a retreat from court, to recover in a humbler but happier station the tranquillity of her former life.

In a letter to the abbé Gobelin, she thus writes: "Madame de Montespan and I have had

lately a sharp altercation, which she has reported to the king *in her own manner.* I have for some time past struggled with myself to endure a situation exposed to such daily vexations. What transport would it be to return to freedom! I am frequently inclined to profess myself of some religious order, but the dread of living to repent my devotion, has hitherto enabled me to resist emotions which by some persons might be deemed *a call.*" In another letter she writes, "I cannot bring myself to believe it is the will of God that I should daily suffer thus under madame de Montespan. She is incapable of friendship; nor can I longer support my situation. It is not possible that she should meet from me such frequent opposition, and not become my enemy. She represents me to his majesty in the light in which she chooses I should appear, by which I shall probably forfeit his esteem. I am in critical and delicate circumstances, in which management and address are requisite." Again: "There fell out yesterday a considerable breach between myself and madame de Montespan, to which, fortunately, the king was a witness. Events so unpleasant, added to the constant ill health of the children, have reduced me to a state I am unable longer to sustain." This letter probably alluded to a debate between these

ladies, in the midst of which the king entered, and, observing their emotion, enquired into its cause.—'If your majesty,' replied madame Scarron, with great composure, 'will please to step into another room with me, I will do myself the honour to acquaint you with what has passed.' The king immediately retiring, the governess followed him, when she spoke without reserve her sentiments, and described to him in colours so lively the harsh and unreasonable conduct of his mistress, as to inspire him with apprehensions of the excesses to which she might be transported by so ungoverned a temper. The facts which were brought forward by madame Scarron in support of her charge were not unknown to her auditor, who, nevertheless, like a lover, whose tenderness had survived his esteem, laboured to exonerate his mistress, and to prove that her heart was less cold and hard than, to judge by her conduct, it sometimes appeared. 'Have you not,' said the infatuated monarch, 'frequently observed, on the recital of an affecting story, or the repetition of a generous sentiment, her *fair* bosom heave, and her *lovely* eyes suffused with tears?'

This conference between the king and the governess was followed by many others, which

madame de Montespan vainly endeavoured to prevent: the circumstances of her conduct to which Lewis had been a witness, added to the growing esteem and friendship with which her adversary had inspired him, defeated all her machinations.

Under the title of marchioness de Surgeres, the governess made a journey into Flanders, with one of her pupils, the duke de Maine, in the hope of obtaining a cure for a lameness which he had contracted. On her return, in 1674, the king purchased for her the estate of Maintenon, the name of which she assumed, as more suited to the rank in which she was now placed. This circumstance afforded to her some compensation for the mortifications she had suffered from the mistress, whose influence over her royal lover daily declined. Love perhaps cannot long survive esteem; the passion of Lewis for madame de Montespan, which had been years in maturing, was, by her security and misconduct, converted into disgust. In the conversation of madame de Maintenon he sought and found a refuge; her ascendancy over his mind was gradual, and became entire. The attachment which he conceived for her is said first to have owed its origin to an accidental occurrence: madame de Montespan having one day received a note from

the king, to which she did not at the moment feel herself disposed to reply, employed the pen of her friend for the purpose: Lewis, charmed with the wit and spirit of the billet, discovered the author, and regarded her from that moment with greater attention. The truth of this anecdote is of little importance; if chance laid the foundation of the fortunes of madame de Maintenon, it is certain that her merits erected the superstructure. Madame de Sevigné, about this period, gives in a letter to her daughter the following character of the court: "Were I to tell you how often they speak to me of you, how often put questions without expecting an answer, how sparing I am of my replies, how little they care, and how much less still I care, you would not fail to recognise the natural disingenuousness of a court. All is pell-mell, *Guelphs* and *Gibelines**."

The ladies de Montespan and de Maintenon displayed in their pursuits their different characters: the former raised at Clagny, under the direction of Mansard, a splendid palace, adorned with master-pieces of art, to which she added gardens in which the lovely and the majestic

* Alluding to the partisans of the rival ladies.

were happily combined. The latter, less magnificent, and more intent on the useful, prepared a retreat in which the later periods of her life might pass with honour and tranquillity. With this view she repaired an ancient castle, that had fallen into neglect, and converted it into a commodious house, established schools, invited lace-workers from Flanders, whom she lodged and rewarded for teaching to women and children their art. She also erected work-houses and manufactories.

In 1675 madame de Maintenon, whose pupil had received but little benefit from the recipes of the Flemish physicians, carried him to Bareges to try its mineral springs. During this journey the duke was attacked by a fever, which reduced him to the brink of the grave. Fagon, the physician who attended them on their journey, effected his recovery, procured the confidence of his governess, and laid the foundation of his own future fortune. Madame de Maintenon was magnificently received at Guyenne by her old friend marshal d'Albret, who was governor of the place. The king, in a letter to the marshal, in which he prescribes to him the honours that should be paid to his son, speaks of the governess in a manner that betrayed some jealousy of the former reports of the marshal's

attachment to her. Having returned by the way of Poitou, she visited her relations, by whom she was received with the respect due to her present situation. These civilities she repaid without any assumption; and regained the friendship of the family of Villette, who, since her conversion to the church of Rome, had declined to correspond with her. She paid during this tour the arrears of a pension which she owed to the Ursuline convent at Niort: she also discovered what she had before been unacquainted with, that she was descended from one of the best families of the country.

On her return from another journey to Bayneres, in 1678, she passed through Cognac, of which count d'Aubigné, her brother, was intrusted with the government. He signalised his zeal on this occasion by the reception he gave to the duke de Maine, the only action of his life in which he afforded to his sister any satisfaction: by his profligate and imprudent temper, d'Aubigné disgraced his family, and afforded to madame de Maintenon a perpetual subject of disquietude. In the course of the same year, without consulting his sister, who could have procured for him a more advantageous connection, he chose for himself a wife, in the daughter of Pietre, the

king's attorney at Paris. In the letter addressed to him on this occasion by madame de Maintenon, which abounds with good counsel, a picture is exhibited of the manners of the times. Her good advice, a case by no means uncommon, was wholly thrown away; count d'Aubigné and his wife agreed so ill, that madame de Maintenon was obliged to separate them. She afterwards prevailed on her brother to retire into a religious house, where a number of gentlemen, under the direction of some priests, had formed a community: his lady was also persuaded to join a society of nuns. D'Aubigné made himself merry with the conceit of turning devotee, nor could be brought to order without some coercion. Before the adoption of this measure, his sister had in vain used every means to reclaim him: she had even ventured to make him known to the king, who, notwithstanding the contempt he felt for his character, conferred on him an important office, and the order of the Holy Ghost, both of which he disgraced.

Two marriages of policy and state, which took place in the royal family, in 1679, produced from madame de Maintenon the following reflections: "Such are the gloomy fiends that hover round a throne! Who can observe with indifference the transports of the ambitious—the despair of

favourites—even when their situation appears the most desirable, and the secret melancholy that preys on the ladies of Versailles, of whom the most envied is not the least unhappy? We may truly say, that our happiness in this world is very far from increasing in proportion to the elevation of our rank."

A treaty of marriage was also at the same time negociated between the dauphin and a princess of Bavaria; a circumstance which produced a change in the situation of madame de Maintenon, on whom the king bestowed, on the completion of the nuptials, the place of lady of the wardrobe to the dauphiness; a post of honour which relieved her from the tyranny of madame de Montespan. These ladies being now placed on a more equal footing, the balance turned in favour of the former. The king had in this year, 1680, attained his forty-second year, an age at which the mind, without losing any of its vigour, is disposed to reflection. Resolved on leading a more regular life, and ashamed of his frequent relapses, he paid the homage to virtue of concealing his frailty. The mistress was under the necessity of hiding from the public eye the birth of her two last children; a restraint to her imperious temper extremely irksome. The quarrels between

the lovers became frequent and aggravated. The monarch, on these occasions, sought refuge from the peevishness and insolence of his mistress in the friendly society of madame de Maintenon, who, though indulgent to his errors, flattered them not: in her mild reproofs, gentleness and good sense tempered the austerity of virtue: she familiarised the king to truth, and, by her delicacy and address, without alarming his pride, made him sensible of his faults. She possessed the happy talent of seizing the proper moment for seasonable exhortation, and of knowing when to forbear. Lewis, one day, after having been present at a review of his household troops, expressed his satisfaction at the manner in which they had performed their evolutions; above all he praised the musqueteers. Madame de Maintenon, he remarked, had not enjoyed the sight, neither did she seem to give any attention to his panegyric. In the evening, at the circle, he demanded why she had looked so grave: 'Because,' replied she, 'a thought came into my head, that I could not get quit of during the whole time of the review.' The king requested to know what that thought might be. She suffered his importunity for a short time, and then, turning to him with a smile, 'Why,' said she, 'if your majesty must know, I was thinking that these musqueteers were a set of

sad rakes, and that their captain was no better than themselves.' Lewis left the company, with some railleries, but half uttered, respecting the fine compliment she had paid him. Madame de Maintenon followed him, and, when they were out of the hearing of others, added, 'Your majesty may banter as you please; but, though you are very fond of your musqueteers, if you were informed that any one of them had run off with his neighbour's wife, I am certain that, although *he* were the bravest fellow in the troop, and *she* the most pitiful creature imaginable, you would not suffer him to remain another hour in the corps.'—This was a pointed reflection, which the king suffered but could not evade.

Madame de Maintenon, though she had completed her fortieth year, had lost only the bloom of youth; a loss which the graces of her manner, the elegance of her person, and the powers of her understanding, fully compensated: her behaviour, though occasionally cheerful, even gay and sportive, was in general reserved; a lesson which she is said to have received from her mother, who never embraced her more than twice in her life. Excessive caresses bestowed upon children are often teazing, and perhaps always pernicious. The king, when jesting or playing with the ladies of the court, always passed the governess: 'As for her,' he was accustomed to say, 'I know I must

not venture!' Her stature was commanding, and her appearance dignified and graceful: she possessed a kind of native but simple elegance, that irresistibly attracted attention. M. de Gobelin, her confessor, thought her dress too fine: 'But, father,' said she, 'these stuffs are of the most common sort; plain linen and gauze; no lace, and a few black ribands.' 'That is true,' replied the priest; 'but I know not how it is, my much honoured lady, when you kneel before me, I see a profusion of elegant dress fall with you at my feet, which appears so graceful, that I cannot help thinking it in some manner too gay.' To her external advantages, she joined a charm and a variety in her conversation, that, whatever were the subject, whether gay or grave, she was sure to acquit herself in the happiest manner. Madame de Montespan, with talents less solid, but not less brilliant, did justice in this respect to the merit of her rival, even after jealousy had divided them from each other.—'Let us not,' said she, one day, on stepping into the same coach with madame de Maintenon, 'become the dupes of this accident, but chat together with the same ease and freedom as ever: but for all this, we need not be the better friends. At our return, we can renew our old piques and quarrels.' Her companion agreed to

the engagement, in which both acquitted themselves equally well. Their mutual affection for the children of the king, still preserved between them, in despite of their competition and dislike, a bond of union; while, from their mutual talents they joined with satisfaction in general subjects of conversation.

At the desire of the king, madame de Maintenon, as first lady of her wardrobe, met the dauphiness on the frontiers of the kingdom: M. Bossuet, her first almoner, also accompanied the lady of the wardrobe. Two persons well fitted, it is observed *, to impress the young princess with a magnificent idea of the French court. The dauphiness, on her arrival, was a little disconcerted by the bustle of the court.—"She was astonished," writes madame de Sevigné, "at the trouble people here take to amuse themselves; for her part, she could divert herself all alone in her chamber, for three or four hours together, with reading and music: she delighted in books, and understood four or five different languages."

A new mistress, about this period, engaged the attention of the king, who had nearly completed his forty-third year; a young beauty of

* By La Beaumelle.

eighteen, whom he created duchess of Fontange. Madame de Montespan had herself introduced this damsel to the monarch, with a studied panegyric on her charms; but, on perceiving that her ascendancy was likely to become permanent, she became, from her patroness, her jealous rival. Madame de Maintenon was intreated by Lewis to reconcile these ladies, whose differences had broke out into an open rupture. The young favourite, who would listen to no terms, insulted her antagonist, and retorted on her the contempt which she had so liberally bestowed on others: while madame de Montespan importuned the king for vengeance. Madame de Maintenon would not undertake to conciliate the rivals in their present disorderly course of life; she declares, "that she never spoke a word to the king's mistresses, that might not have been publicly proclaimed in the streets." Her first attempt was to reclaim the younger lady, in whom at least she might expect to find the sensibility of youth. After bearing with the first burst of her indignation, she reasoned with her respecting her weakness, and pointed out to her the means of expiating her guilt. 'What must I do then?' enquired the distressed fair-one. 'Renounce the king,' answered her monitor. 'You either love him, or you do not. If you love him, you ought to consult the welfare of his soul, as well as your own:

if you do not, the effort will be made with the less difficulty. Whichever way you take it, your quitting him will be a virtuous and praise-worthy action.' 'How!' interrupted her hearer, impatient of this logic, 'do you think it is as easy to quit a king, as to throw aside a scarf or a bonnet?' Some tears of vexation followed this speech, and thus the conference ended: the lady retained her lover; and the sage reproofs of the governess were presently forgotten. Her career, however, was short; the monarch soon became sickened of her whims, her caprices, and her follies, and sincerely repented having placed his affections on a girl: after the few moments allotted to the indulgence of the senses, he was accustomed to retire to the apartment of madame de Maintenon, with whom he enjoyed the pleasures of friendship, and of rational conversation. The young duchess grew jealous, but consoled herself with the hope of soon presenting the king with a son: the child was born, but lived only a short time, and the mother did not long survive him. The king commiserated her fate, and was deeply affected by the circumstances of her death. Madame de Montespan having disgusted him by the indecent joy which she shewed on the occasion, he thenceforth wholly renounced her, and devoted himself to madame de Maintenon; in whom, though ever an enemy to the

irregularities of his conduct, he found, on all occasions, a friend ready to sympathise with his weaknesses.

A cabal was formed about this time by the minister Louvois, madame de Montespan, and madame de Richelieu, for the purpose of depriving madame de Maintenon of her favour at court. The last-named of these ladies had been formerly the friend and protectress of the widow Scarron; who, by procuring for her the place of lady of honour to the dauphiness, had manifested her gratitude—'But,' said she, with a sigh, 'one is often * beguiled in a friendship of thirty years standing.' A part of their plan, in which they succeeded without difficulty, was to prejudice her in the opinion of the dauphiness. The king, harassed by their quarrels and complaints, lost all patience, and insisted on an investigation of the affair: the result was a full discovery of the plot, and the establishment of the integrity and reputation of the lady of the wardrobe, to whom, however, the dauphiness in secret still retained a distaste. After this explanation, Lewis proposed the dismissal of madame de Richlieu, which was objected to by her old friend: 'One busy-body,' said she, 'is as good as another; and we had better keep that we have, than take one of whom we know nothing.' The king would like

* *Not often, I* should suspect.

wise have ordered madame Montespan to retire, had not her rival preserved her from this affront, on condition, however, that she should have no more private interviews with the monarch, and that she should not be less guarded than he had himself resolved to be respecting their future conduct. Madame de Maintenon extended her generosity yet farther: to save madame de Montespan from the disgrace of appearing to have lost all credit with the king, she contrived that any favour she had to ask, should, through her intervention, be readily obtained. The minister received no other punishment than that which a malignant mind must always experience in the detection and failure of its iniquitous schemes. A part of the plan of the cabal, which also proved abortive, was to render its victim obnoxious to the queen—'Why,' said that princess, 'should I be prejudiced against her? I should rather thank God for raising her up to restore to me that heart of which madame de Montespan has deprived me. And indeed I never lived so happily with the king as since he listened to her advice.'

The queen, humble, diffident, and tenderly attached to her husband, imputed to the influence of madame de Maintenon the kindness with which he behaved towards her. That lady had indeed made it her study to keep up between the royal pair a

good understanding; an attention which the queen gratefully repaid by shewing her every testimony of regard and esteem. She one day presented to her her picture richly set in diamonds; a present which excited the envy of madame de Montespan. In the king's journeys to Chambert, Compeigne, and to the frontiers, his wife accompanied him; while madame de Maintenon attended them, to the exclusion of madame de Montespan.

On their return from these excursions, in 1683, at the moment when the queen began to taste of happiness in the enjoyment of her husband's affections, unembittered by jealousy, she was seized with a malady which at first appeared little dangerous, but which in a short time carried her off. It is related by La Beaumelle, that on her death-bed she took the ring from her finger, and gave it to madame de Maintenon, as a pledge of her esteem. The king appeared more softened than afflicted by his loss: the grief of madame de Maintenon, founded on respect and gratitude, was more sincere. Having performed the last duty of a friend to the queen, she was about to retire to her own chamber, when the duke de Rochefoucault, seizing her by the arm, pushed her forcibly into that of the king: 'This is no proper time, madam,' said he, 'for you to leave the king. His majesty's present condition requires your assistance.' From

that moment her situation at court became peculiarly delicate: she was obliged to pass whole days in private with the monarch, who required her constant attendance. By the shafts of detraction and envy she was hourly assailed; while, unable to shun or repel the respectful assiduities of the king, she beheld with astonishment, and probably not without pleasure, proofs of an attachment beyond her most sanguine expectations.

Soon after the death of the queen, Lewis went to Fontainbleau, whither he was followed by the dauphiness, and, in her suite, madame de Maintenon, who appeared before the monarch clad in deep mourning, and with an air of sorrow so profound, that he rallied her on her grief. Her importance at court hourly increased; her society was courted, and her circle considered as honourable, by those ladies who had shunned the mistresses of the king. During the secession at Fontainbleau, there appeared in her countenance and manners an apparent struggle and an extreme agitation. To conceal the cause of her solicitude, and to account for the tears which she was unable to restrain, she affected an indisposition which the air only could relieve. Under this pretence she passed, with a confidential friend, whole days in the forest of Fontainbleau, where she frequently remained till a very late

hour*. The vapours however at length dispersed, and this storm was succeeded by a calm. In her former letters written to her confessor, and preserved at St. Cyr, a woman disgusted with the court, and anxious for a pretence to quit it for ever, is only to be seen. In those written after the decease of the queen her style is changed: she no longer laments her situation, but confesses that an *indispensable duty* retains her at Versailles.

The king also assumed a new character: his deportment, which had of late become rather serious, grew yet more reserved; while his example produced among the courtiers an external appearance of regularity. Madame de Maintenon perfectly understood the causes of that display of religion which she beheld every-where around her, and which she found means to convert to a beneficial purpose, by founding at Versailles a charitable establishment, to which the ladies of the court readily subscribed.

A stratagem which she put in practice on another occasion was less justifiable. Not less a devotee than her royal lover, she had manifested a zeal for the conversion of her family equal to that which Lewis had testified for reclaiming his huguenot subjects: being desirous of taking a niece under her protection,

* Madame de Caylus's Recollections.

whose father she found was incontrovertible, she contrived to separate this worthy man from his children, by procuring for him a distant command in the navy. In his absence she obtained the charge of his daughter, whom she conducted to St. Germain's. The young lady, delighted with the splendour of the king's mass, consented, on condition that she might daily attend it, and be exempted from corporeal discipline, to become a catholic. Other measures were selected, not less effectual, for proselyting to the church her two brothers; one of whom obtained a commission of cornet of light horse, and the other the regiment of the queen's dragoons. In vain the father on his return complained of these proceedings; he was compelled to submit to authority. Madame de Maintenon, in some degree, made amends to her niece for this injustice, by educating her with the utmost care and tenderness: the young lady, afterwards madame de Caylus, became an ornament of the French court.

About this period, 1684, madame de Maintenon refused the place of lady of honour, the highest dignity at court, which she modestly affected to believe above her pretensions. "I could not," says she, alluding to this circumstance, in a letter to her brother, "get you appointed constable when I would have done it; and now, that it is perhaps in my power, I decline it. I am incapable of asking

any thing unreasonable from one to whom I am indebted for every thing. I would not even accept any honour for myself, to which I thought I was not entitled. These sentiments you will probably consider as high-strained; but it is likewise possible, that, but for the principle which inspires them, I should never have attained my present situation. Be that as it may, if you have but sense and virtue, you are sufficiently happy in your own." Her refusal of this post, to which the modest and the vainglorious imputed different motives, was much spoken of at court. The niece of madame de Maintenon informs us, that her aunt, demanding her sentiments upon the subject, asked her whether she would choose to be related to the person who accepted, or to her who refused so honourable a station. The young lady gave her testimony in favour of the latter. Her aunt embraced her, pleased with an answer that accorded so well with her own sentiments. It must be confessed that in this little incident some degree of vanity is apparent.

The royal institution of St. Lewis, an asylum for the young and indigent nobility, was gradually founded by madame de Maintenon, who seems to have had a peculiar predilection for the education of youth, for which, by her temper and talents, she was admirably qualified. The sufferings of her early youth had inspired her with compassion to-

wards those unfortunate beings, to whom the pride of birth is the only inheritance derived from their ancestors: a sentiment of aristocracy, which the ancient regimé of France was so calculated to cherish, heightened this feeling, and gave to it activity. She had formed an acquaintance with an Ursuline sister, whose vocation was doubtful, but whose convent was gone to decay. She beheld with compassion this forlorn devotee, and, as early as the circumstances of her fortune would admit, hired a house which she consecrated to religion; and of which the Ursuline nun was nominated prioress on the foundation. The house was endowed with pensioners, which, in proportion to the capacity of the foundress for their maintenance, were gradually augmented. To madame de Brinon, the Ursuline nun, three other female religionists were joined as coadjutors. This community, first established at Montmorency, was afterwards transferred to Ruel. The king having quitted St. Germain's for Versailles, had, in enlarging his park, comprehended within its walls several houses, among which was *Noisy-le-Sec*, of which madame de Maintenon obtained a grant, and transplanted to it her colony. It was here that she formed the design of founding the society of St. Cyr. Lewis, to whom she had communicated it, liberally concurred in her purpose: the building was carried on with spirit and rapidity, and, in less than a year,

completed, on a scale of extent and magnificence. It was rendered capable of receiving two hundred and fifty pensioners, thirty-six matrons, with the necessary inferior attendants. In the first plan of the foundation, the matrons were to be established as a society of *Chanoinesses*, exempted from taking the vow; but some inconveniences resulting from this arrangement, it was, some time after the translation of the community from *Noisy* to St. Cyr, determined to impose on them the veil, leaving only the pupils free. An order was accordingly composed out of the rules of the Ursulines and of the sisterhood of St. Mary. Two qualifications were requisite as conditions of acceptance at St. Cyr, nobility and indigence. The first was to be certified by the herald at arms; the second by the bishop of the diocese, conjointly with the governor of the province. The pupils were maintained and educated for the term of thirteen years; and, on their dismissal from the house, were to receive, either as a marriage portion, or as a means of future support, the sum of one thousand crowns. The regulations of the house were framed by the foundress, and digested into order by capable persons. Their educations were superintended with the utmost care and attention, and their minds formed on the strictest principle of morals.

It was the wish of madame de Maintenon that

these young persons should be early accustomed to a scrupulous moderation.—" If I were not careful," said she, in a letter to the superior, " to instruct my girls, they might be put to school again the very day after my death: they might acquire an exterior appearance of frugality and economy, which would be only a burthensome restraint, and might, perhaps, at last, prove their ruin. I think we ought to have patience with them, and not expect that they should at once become adepts. It is for this reason that I labour incessantly among them. I would bestow my attention upon them with pleasure, and never repine at my pains in being their mistress, their governess, and faithful servant, could I be assured that, by my cares, they would be at length able to do without me." While the foundress recommended to her community, temperance and economy, she also sought to guard them against unseasonable parsimony—" Be not improperly sparing," says she to them, " if abstemiousness should at any time become necessary, let it fall upon you who are nuns, and not on the pupils. In times of scarcity, let them not eat brown bread till you are reduced to the coarsest cakes. Let the firm resolution of considering the pupils as the chief objects of the institution, be ever main-

tained in the house. From the same principle, be always ready to sacrifice your temporal to your spiritual interest. Be more attentive to maintain your regulations than to increase your riches. Disinterestedness never yet occasioned the fall of a religious house. Should there happen to be in the community a person of extraordinary talents, do not employ her to keep your accounts, but to instruct novices, and to teach children."

After some time the foundress perceived the necessity of removing from her station, as superior, the Urseline nun, whose imperious and insolent temper injured the institution: a stipend was, on her retreat, appointed for her future support. The court, amidst its irregularities, respected St. Cyr as the asylum of virtue, which afforded to a multitude of distressed girls that protection which they would in vain have sought elsewhere. Every minute which madame de Maintenon could spare from the tedious ceremonies of the court, she spent at St. Cyr, where she occupied herself in her favourite employment. There indeed she found what is seldom to be met with in the palaces of kings, innocence, candour, and gratitude; and these are still ready to strew flowers on her tomb *.

* Anquetil's Memoirs of the court of France.

The monarch displayed in this establishment a royal munificence. The foundress had at first proposed to receive only a hundred pupils; but, by the provision of the king, two hundred and fifty were admitted, to each of which was given a handsome portion. He also noticed in detail every convenience which the house required, provided them himself, and wrote with his own hand the orders and directions. 'I have no doubt,' said he to the superior, whom he installed into her office, 'that you will be attentive in the choice of the objects entitled to the benefit of this establishment, which I have instituted purely for the glory of God, and for the relief of noble families in my kingdom. It ought therefore always to be conducted on the same disinterested principles, and with the same purity of intention, that I now feel in framing it.

The marriage of Lewis XIV with madame de Maintenon, the most important event of her life, and the most extraordinary circumstance in the private life of that monarch, took place (as it is believed) on the return of the king from Fontainebleau, 1685, in presence of the marquis De Montchevreuil and Bontemps; of Harlay de Chanvalon archbishop of Paris, and father la Chaise; the service being performed, according to St. Simon, by

to a fine large house situated by itself. S
has large gardens, and spacious and elegant a
ments. She has a carriage, horses, and serva
she dresses richly, but modestly, just as becc
a woman who passes her life with people of qual
She is amiable, beautiful, good, and unaffecte
Her conversation is very agreeable."

The situation of madame Scarron was far fr
pleasant, notwithstanding the advantages w
which it was attended: though she contrived
times to meet her particular friends, her life v
solitary, and her reputation equivocal: she w
not at liberty to assign the cause of the cha
in her circumstances, and her estrangement fr
society: as an ostensible pretence for her retre
she took into her house the child of a frie
whom she solicited from its mother. W
madame de Montespan was seized with the p
of child-birth, the governess was immedi
summoned, to receive and carry home with
the infant. Seven children were in this m
ner consigned by the mistress to the ca
her friend. The eldest of these children
when about three months old: the grief o
governante on this occasion greatly exceeded
of the mother. The king, speaking on thi
ject, said it would be pleasant to be belov
madame Scarron, she had so much sensi

has a stain upon her name. Unimpassioned, prudent, moral, and mistress of herself, from her earliest youth, in circumstances the most trying and perilous, she preserved an even tenor of conduct, without deviating either to the right or the left. Her influence over the mind of Louis arose naturally out of their mutual characters, and the situations in which a train of events, alike unpremeditated and unforeseen, had finally placed them. No very severe censure can fall upon the lady, although it should be granted, that by her talents and address she improved these situations: impeccability is perhaps scarcely to be expected of human virtue. The family of madame de Maintenon, even by those who lay a stress on descent, if a prince be allowed any occasion to intermix with his subjects, did not disgrace the monarch. Francis d'Aubigné could reckon back seventeen generations to Geoffrey d'Aubigné, who was a knight in 1160. Her pedigree on the side of her mother, mademoiselle de Cardillac, was not less noble. If the burlesque muse of Scarron had given offence to rival wits, who revenged themselves on his widow, that husband was nevertheless a man of genius, of good family, and a professor of the law. The prejudice which the king had at first conceived against her,

one of the two latter: the minister Louvois was also present. "Providence thus," observes the last-mentioned writer," appointed to the most haughty of kings, the deepest, the most public, lasting, and unexampled humiliation."

This assertion however appears not quite self-evident. Madame de Maintenon is accused by her adversaries of a refined coquetry; of availing herself, under the mask of wisdom and piety, of the superstitious weakness of Lewis, and of playing upon his passions, to seduce him into a measure so flattering to her ambition. To this accusation some colour is given by the following expression, which appears in a letter preserved at St. Cyr, and addressed to her confessor: "I always take care," says she, "to send away his majesty *disappointed* and *dissatisfied*, but not *desponding*." Something, no doubt, must be allowed to human passions, possibly to the *woman*, on a conquest so important, and at a period of life* which rendered it doubly flattering; but, if the advocates of this extraordinary woman cannot clear her from the charge of ambition and of address, that of religious hypocrisy the whole tenor of her life seems to contradict. In a situation so distinguished and exposed to the shafts of envy, calumny has failed to

* Forty-five.

fix a stain upon her name. Unimpassioned, prudent, moral, and mistress of herself, from her earliest youth, in circumstances the most trying and perilous, she preserved an even tenor of conduct, without deviating either to the right or to the left. Her influence over the mind of Lewis arose naturally out of their mutual characters, and the situations in which a train of events, alike unpremeditated and unforeseen, had mutually placed them. No very severe censure can fall upon the lady, although it should be proved, that by her talents and address she improved these situations: impeccability is perhaps scarcely to be expected of human virtue. The family of madame de Maintenon, even by those who lay a stress on descent, if a prince be allowed on any occasion to intermix with his subjects, did not disgrace the monarch. Francis d'Aubigné could reckon back seventeen generations to Geofrey d'Aubigné, who was a knight in 1160. Her pedigree on the side of her mother, mademoiselle de Cardillac, was not less noble. If the burlesque muse of Scarron had given offence to rival wits, who revenged themselves on his widow, that husband was nevertheless a man of genius, of good family, and a professor of the law. The prejudice which the king had at first conceived against her,

yielded gradually to habit, and to a conviction of her merit. Attachments which thus result from experience and reflection are fitted to be lasting. The monarch witnessed her attentions and tenderness to his children; her patience and forbearance with his mistress; her generosity and superiority to revenge or recrimination. Her talents excited his respect, her cheerfulness amused, and her gentleness soothed him. She possessed the art of reproving without offending him, of sympathising in his weaknesses without indulging them: she even rendered the austerities of religion palatable by applying them to his hopes rather than to his fears. Lewis, satiated with voluptuousness, after having exhausted the pleasures of sense, found in madame de Maintenon the charm of confidence, and the repose friendship. Time, which had robbed her of the bloom of youth, had yet left to her powerful charms.—"Her hands and arms were beautiful; the lower part of her face was inexpressibly pleasing. Her stature and air were inimitably graceful; there was a peculiar vivacity and significance in her look. Her smile also was so highly expressive, that, without hearing her words, one might guess what she spoke. The brilliancy of her eyes, contrasted with the uncommon whiteness of her skin, was like the sparkling of fire amidst snow. Her lively wit, and even her beauty,

remained unimpaired by years. Whatever slight injuries the latter might have sustained, she knew how to repair by the arts of dress, by those graces which belong alike to every age, by modesty, the most estimable of all, and by a thousand amiable qualities, proof against the depredations of time*." Her conversation was not less agreeable than her mind was acute and sagacious: her letters are characterised by a pure, unaffected style, by grace, simplicity, and ease: they breathe an ardent love of virtue, and a zeal for the public good.

Lewis also, since the death of the queen, and from the retired disposition of the dauphiness, stood in need of a person capable of directing the ceremonies of his court, of superintending his household, and of affording to him, in his hours of leisure, relaxation and amusement. His children, likewise, the fruits of his amours, were entirely dependent on his care and affection. The two sons and three daughters of madame de Montespan were to be educated, attended, and established in the world. Madame de Maintenon had already been to them a second mother: her intelligence, her mildness, her influence over their minds, relieved the king from his anxieties on

* La Beaumelle.

their account, and rendered her peculiarly proper to be entrusted with their conduct. When age and infirmity should come upon him, Lewis had a right to expect from this connection, that attention to his health, to his ease, and to his comfort, which he might have sought for in vain in a more equal union.

The advantages on the part of madame de Maintenon are less apparent: the situation to which she was elevated, in itself equivocal, exacted of her many sacrifices, of which she seems fully sensible.—'What,' said her brother, rallying his sister's ambition, 'would she marry God the Father?'—"Next to those who hold high stations at court," said she to this brother, in a letter dated in 1684, "I know none so unhappy as those who envy them. Were you to know what we suffer!"—Persons born in courts, and early accustomed to them, are perhaps less sensible of the trammels they impose.—"From the cradle," adds she, "languor and restraint are their portion: the loss of liberty is their natural condition." To those unused to their weight, more especially to an active and cultivated mind, these gilded chains become insufferably galling, and the monotonous round of uniform ceremonies an insupportable vassalage. Madame de Maintenon had also reason to dread the levity of the king,

of which his attachment to mademoiselle Fontange had given so recent a proof. By a similar caprice, she might be hurled from her station, to which she had no avowed and public claim, and condemned to spend the remnant of her life in misery and humiliation. By remaining free, and her own mistress, she was assured of enjoying respect and affluence, heightened by the recollection of her former distresses. The season of the passions was passing away, and those of madame de Maintenon had appeared at all times to be moderate, and under her control; she might, at length, in tranquil satisfaction, and in a series of useful and interesting pursuits, have passed her days, unruffled and unrestrained, at the seat which she had embellished for this purpose. "I was in hopes," says she, in a letter dated January 4th, 1684, "of *dying* at that place, but I fear I shall never have the pleasure of even *living* there." It was about this time that the king had declared his intention of espousing her, six months after the death of the queen. Near two years more passed in deliberation. Madame de Maintenon approached the throne, on which she was never in reality seated, by slow degrees, and by an extraordinary train of circumstances. No written document remained of this marriage,

which however was not doubted; a register for recording transactions of this nature was not then in existence.

According to St. Simon, madame de Maintenon, on two different occasions, made strong efforts to have the nuptials declared: the first during the life of the minister Louvois, who, having learned the monarch's intentions, expostulated with warmth on the indignity and inconvenience that would follow the avowal; and, at length, throwing himself at the feet of Lewis, who appeared desirous to evade his importunity, embraced his knees, and presented him with a dagger—"Kill me," said he, with vehemence, "that I may never see your majesty take a step which will dishonour you in the eyes of Europe." The king struggling impatiently to escape, the minister detained him forcibly, and extorted from him a promise, that the marriage should never be published. The archbishop of Paris, who had been engaged to lend his aid on the occasion, came in at the instant, and confirmed the resolution of Lewis. The second attempt of madame de Maintenon to obtain her purpose, is said to have been made, when, by the order of the monarch, the apartments of the queen were thrown open, to exhibit the superb ornaments intended for the church of Strasburg; or, in the opinion of some,

to place in them the successor of Maria Teresa, who wanted only the title of queen. But Lewis, having thought fit to consult on the subject the bishops of Meux* and Cambray†, was, by their concurrent advice, determined on silence. From this time, says St. Simon, the lady, acquiescing in her destiny, forbore any farther solicitation.

The truth of the preceding statement is somewhat questionable: if madame de Maintenon's ambition was thus restless, it is extraordinary that she has given no intimation of her real situation; but, on the contrary, manifested the most scrupulous delicacy to destroy every trace of the fact, and every memorial that might throw light upon the subject. The letters to her confessior in 1685, the year of her marriage, are nowhere to be found; and were, there is reason to believe, either destroyed by herself, or at her express desire. One indirect confession of her station only escaped her.—She went to visit the convent of the Grand Carmelites, where queens only have the privilege to enter. 'You know our rules, madam,' said the superior, before she admitted her, 'and can best decide whether I ought to open the gate.' 'Open, my good mother,' replied she, 'you may always admit me.'

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* Bossuet and Fenelon. † La Beaumelle.

If she were indeed solicitous that the public should know that the monarch had espoused her, it is scarcely probable that she should have been careful to suppress the documents of the fact. The king lived with her openly as his wife, and treated her with the most affectionate cordiality; except the making a declaration in form, he took no pains to conceal the relation in which she stood to him. Madame de Montespan, who pretends to question their union, merely says—"If they were married, they would not be so loving to each other; but, if not, how could they shew such open familiarity?" The unremitting tenderness, friendship, and respect, with which Lewis behaved towards madame de Maintenon, for thirty years, and which she returned by the most affectionate solicitude for his health and welfare, gives additional evidence, if indeed any were wanting, to the fact. By her influence and authority, a total change was produced in the management of the king's household, and in the manners of the court.

From 1684, till the beginning of the war in 1688, the prosperity of Lewis XIV. appears to have been stationary; after that period his affairs declined. Madame de Maintenon is accused by St. Simon of having prompted the king to the revocation of the edict of Nantz, which took place

at the end of 1685. "Pride, devotion, and policy," says he, "were the three motives which actuated the monarch on this occasion. His three prompters were M. de Louvois, madame de Maintenon, and the Jesuits." Lewis had become a devotee; and the huguenots were represented to him as under the anathemas of the catholic church, as a set of men rendered bold by sedition, civil war, and foreign connections, whom no politic king would tolerate.—"How glorious," it was added, "would it be for him to perform an action, in their conversion, exceeding the utmost efforts of his predecessors; an action, that, in the sight of Heaven, would be highly meritorious! To expiate one's faults by the sufferings of others, and thus to ensure eternal happiness, could not fail of being pleasing." Such were the arguments of the Jesuits; and Louvois, fond of wars, and wearied with the idea of a twenty-years' truce, which had been recently agreed on, hoped, by a blow against the huguenots, to extirpate protestantism out of Europe; and, at the same time, to acquire, by his agency in the business, new credit with the nation. In concert with father Le Chaise, he therefore encouraged the king to the enterprise; while, to remove his fears and scruples, they jointly assured him (as we are informed by madame de Maintenon), "that not a drop of

blood should be shed on the occasion." To narrate the misery that ensued, the tortures, proscriptions, and oppressions, is not the purpose of this memoir. If the zeal of madame de Maintenon for the conversion of the huguenots (a proof of which she had already exhibited in her conduct towards her own family) led her to excite the king to this stretch of authority, a fact which, however, has not been proved; it is certain, that she exerted her influence to the utmost to mitigate the severities by which the orders were enforced. In a letter to her brother, governor of Amesford, who was violently exerting himself upon this occasion—"Be favourable," said she, "to the catholics, but be not cruel to the poor huguenots: they are in an error, it is true, but we ourselves have been in the same. Henry IV. and many other great princes, have been also under this delusion. Jesus Christ gains the hearts of men by gentleness; and it is the business of priests alone to convert them from error. God has not committed to soldiers the care of souls." Writing to a cardinal, she also observes—"In my opinion, it is my duty to dissuade the king, as much as possible, from acts of violence and cruelty. I always tell him, that, one day, his conscience will punish him for so many lawless proscriptions and banishments. He answers,

that such proceedings are no more than what are customary in such cases. If I loved him less, I should be discouraged; but my duty obliges me to tell him the truth; and, please GOD, I will continue so to do till the last."—"Would it not," said she, on the same occasion, "well become the abbé de la Châtre, and some others, to go as missionaries to Cevennes? There are so many idle clergy, so many able men unemployed, and we see daily such long lists of those who expect to be made bishops, that I have proposed, that they should all first serve us as missionaries. When I mentioned this to the king, he did not dislike the idea: 'I pay missionaries,' said he, 'at a very high rate, and receive from them in return more complaints than conversions.'"

The eyes of Lewis had been opened, when he thus expressed himself. Louvois had deceived him by sending in the lists of the converts, reckoned by thousands, made by the *troops*. The monarch, candid himself, suspected not the fatal error into which he had been betrayed. It is a trite observation, that truth seldom reaches the ear of kings. The pretended proselytes, the miserable victims of cruelty and oppression, by a feigned abjuration, bartered their integrity for their fortunes and repose. But few families in France had not to lament, in the revocation of

the edict of Nantz, the loss of their friends: secret mourning "curses deep not loud," lurked under the appearance of public pomp. The king, as if unable to conceal from himself the atrocities that he had sanctioned, became reserved and unsocial; confidence gave place to distrust: grave conversation, and formal ceremonies, superseded the accustomed pleasures of the court.

The king was, on all occasions, tenacious of his authority, and jealous of those who sought to influence him: the ministers, by stratagems and artful management, evaded, at once, and humoured this disposition. They were sometimes accustomed, when they had a purpose to gain, to concert their plans with madame de Maintenon, in whose apartment their councils were usually held. The lady, while the king and his ministers conversed, amused herself with a book, with her needle, or her pen, in a corner of the room, seemingly inattentive to what was passing. When the monarch hesitated, or required her opinion, she appeared to wake as from a reverie, smiled, and affected ignorance of the business, taking care, however, at the same time, artfully to confirm his wavering resolution. St. Simon, from whom the preceding account is taken, and who appears not very favourably disposed towards madame de Maintenon, adds, that

she sometimes *jockeyed* the king, who was much on his guard against her. "When she requested a favour too boldly," says he, "or employed the minister to speak in behalf of her relations or dependents, his majesty used to refuse the demand on that very account, and remain proof against all intreaty. He even took delight in shewing this sort of firmness in her presence. She often shed tears, and was kept, for several days together, in torment. When she resolved to have Fagon made first physician, a man on whose daily good offices with the monarch she could rely, she feigned sickness; an expedient to which, in such cases, she had frequent recourse, and which in the end generally prevailed." The reader must judge of the truth of these insinuations, by comparing them with the general character of the woman

In 1686, Lewis gave the eldest daughter of madame de Montespan in marriage to the duke of Bourbon. The young princess, who was only twelve years of age, was oppressed on this occasion beneath the weight of her diamonds. "Her head-dress," says madame de Maintenon, "was as weighty as her whole body." The following year a feast was given at Versailles, in a style of uncommon magnificence; and four separate apartments within the grand saloon were appropriated to the four seasons of the year. The

dauphin and madame de Montespan had the charge of autumn; to the duke of Maine and madame de Maintenon that of winter was assigned; summer to the duke of Bourbon and madame de Thianges; and spring to the duke of Chevereuse and the duchess of Bourbon. The diamonds, jewels, and embroideries, which decorated the apartments, were valued at more than fifteen thousand louis-d'ors. The company played for these rich and splendid ornaments, carrying away with them whatever they won; no one was permitted to stake his own money; and, when wearied of play, the remaining articles were, by the king and the dauphin, distributed among the guests*. But freedom and gaiety refused to preside at the feast; the young nobility, weary of the dull pomp of the court, sought in foreign wars, and in other countries, the activity and enjoyment they found not in their own.

Louvois, jealous of the defection of the youth of France, performed for the king, by a dishonourable conduct, an unpleasant service: letters were intercepted from those of whom he most doubted, and, with their seals unbroken, put into the hands of Lewis. The mortified monarch suffered the consequences of this unjustifiable action, by finding, in the violated epistles, the

* Reboulet.

severest satires on his person and government: "our *cit* of a king," said these licentious youth, "doting prematurely with his *rustic* mate." They made a jest of his talent for sieges, on which he more particularly valued himself, and his aversion to battles; laughed at his court-feasts, and poured contempt on his female companion. Lewis read these letters, if not with indifference, with magnanimous composure; but, accustomed, as he had been, to the homage of those around him, it was impossible that he should not feel so bitter a mortification, that wounded him where he was most vulnerable. Madame de Maintenon reproached Louvois for the barbarous service he had rendered his master; and by which, unconsciously, he had also involved his own son, by whom one of the intercepted letters was written. The only advantage reaped by the monarch from the officious treachery of the minister, was an assurance of the ingratitude of those whom he had benefited; and of the indifference of others in whose attachment he had trusted. Cruel truths, which destroyed a flattering, and, perhaps, salutary illusion*. The illegitimate children of the king, on whom he

* "Where ignorance is bliss, 't is folly to be wise."
GRAY.

had showered favours, were, on this occasion, found among the criminals: the princess of Conti, who had, in a letter to her husband, spoken disrespectfully of her father, flew to madame de Maintenon for protection from his displeasure—'Weep, madam,' said that lady to her, observing her tears, 'you have reason to weep; for nothing can be a greater misfortune than to have *a bad heart.*' The countenance of the king expressed more sorrow than anger; while he felt that no station affords a defence against human calamity.

Madame de Maintenon sustained the injuries with which she was, in her turn, assailed, with not less fortitude than her royal lover.—"He wishes," writes she to a friend, speaking of M. de Lazun, an intriguing and vindictive character, "that I should unite my resentments with his; but I told him, that I had long ago forgiven every thing." Whether from policy or contempt, or a mixture of both, she appeared always disposed to forbearance towards those whose envy or malignity excited them to attack her. A ballad was one day sent to her, in which she was severely treated. 'If I had still my voice,' said she, 'I would sing it myself. It tells me no news. Don't I know that I am old? When I happen to forget it, my change of humour soon recals it to

my mind. Find me out the author; if the king knows him he will punish him. If I knew him I would take another method of resenting the injury.'

Madame de Maintenon contracted an intimate friendship with the wife of James II. who had, with her husband, taken shelter in France; where they were received by Lewis with a royal hospitality. The sufferings of this unfortunate princess were greatly alleviated by the polite attentions she experienced in the French court.

Whether the monarch suspected madame de Maintenon of secret intrigues, or whether he found life tasteless in her absence, it is certain that she complains of the restraint which she endured from his perpetual presence.—"The king never loses sight of me," says she in a letter to a friend, "and I am not allowed to see any person. He his constantly in my chamber; and I am obliged to rise at five o'clock to write this to you."—"I now feel that nothing can be a compensation for the loss of liberty." On another occasion, she writes to a confidential friend—"Could I, but for a moment, make you experience my feelings! Could I but shew you the languor that preys on the great, and the difficulty they find in passing their time! Do you not see me oppressed with sadness amidst a fortune far beyond my most sanguine hopes;

and, were it not for the aid of religion, ready to sink into despair? I have, in my time, been young and handsome; I have tasted pleasure, and enjoyed the triumph of admiration. At a more advanced period of life, I have relished the conversation of the learned; and now I am arrived at the highest summit of favour. After all, I protest to you, there is a want, a frightful void, in every state—a pain and listlessness—a wish for something more: nothing, in short, in this world can ever give us entire satisfaction."

Is this common complaint really founded in nature; or is it, as there is cause to suspect, a disorder of the imagination, produced by false systems of refinements, by the indulgence of illusions, and the errors of an imperfect civilisation? The youth of madame de Maintenon had been passed in indigence and dependence; her bloom had been wasted in a disproportionate and venal marriage; her maturer years harassed by cares for a subsistence; and the period of her prosperity spent amidst the intrigues, the duplicity, and the constraint of a court. She had never tasted the confidence and endearment of an equal union: to the touching charm of maternal tenderness her heart was a stranger: nor could it expand to friendship without caution and distrust. In a state of splendid vassalage, snares beset her path,

and perils surrounded her on every side: she stood as on an eminence, tottering on the verge of a precipice, down which, by one unguarded step, she might have been inevitably precipitated. Ambition is a restless passion, whose reward is mingled with thorns, and embittered by perpetual disquietude. To be distinguished, is to be a mark for the arrows of the mean and malignant; admiration is but envy and jealousy in disguise. Happiness, if indeed it exists, is to be sought in the tranquillity of the passions, or in the gentle exercise only of such as are benevolent: in healthful activity, in temperance and moderation, in equal love and friendship, in freedom and in nature: at a distance from courts, from the competitions which they excite: far from great cities, their venal combinations, their vicious allurements, and their polluted atmosphere. The experience of madame the Maintenon herself is in proof of these observations: her only pleasant days were passed at St. Cyr, where objects of her benevolent exertions every-where surrounded her: it was here that whole days, which she spent with delight in the instruction of her pupils, glided away unmarked. — "They employ much of my time," said she, "and that far more agreeably than the intrigues of those people who are continually deceiving or deceived, and who are often at once in

both situations. It is indeed no very easy task to find proper employment, from morning to night, for girls between eighteen and twenty years of age." For this purpose she wrote to the count d'Ayen, afterwards duke de Noailles, who married mademoiselle d'Aubigné her niece.—" Have you no man of wit, no genius under your protection, whose appetite is equal to his merit, though his income cannot keep pace with his appetite? Such I have seen in my time. Well! I should be glad that he would compose for me some pleasing little stories, which might amuse young people, without impressing their minds with any thing untrue or improper—that might afford examples of virtue rewarded, and vice punished, sooner or later. I do not wish them to contain too much of the marvellous; I know the bad effect of habituating the mind to such dainties. I would have you to pay for each little piece as it is finished. I am, however, sensible that wit is not to be bought. But you will take care not to pay for a merely mercenary performance; and improve, with your usual address, the hints which I have here given."

Madame de Brinon had, during her superintendence at St. Cyr, introduced into the convent dramatic representations, for which she had a particular passion. For the pieces of Corneille and Racine, she substituted compositions of her

own, sufficiently wretched, which she caused the young people to perform. It was to this circumstance that the public were indebted for the Esther and the Athaliah of Racine, written afterwards, at the request of madame de Maintenon, for the exhibitions at St. Cyr. These amusements were admitted, under certain regulations, for the improvement of the ladies in correctness of pronunciation, in the modulation of the voice, in action, and graceful gesticulation. Madame de Maintenon, having been present at the representation of one of the productions of the lady abbess, and being disgusted at its absurdities, gave orders for the introduction of the dramas of Racine and Corneille. The tragedy of Cinna was accordingly got up, and played with admirable success. Andromache followed in a still superior style. The foundress, dreading the effect of these ensnaring amusements on the characters and morals of her pupils, addressed to monsieur Racine the following letter. "Our little girls," said she, "have just exhibited your Andromache, and have succeeded so well, that they shall never play it again, nor any of your pieces."—She proceeds to request that he would compose for them, at his leisure, some moral and historical dramas, in which such sentiments may be avoided as are unfit for

the youthful female mind, and also such scenes as are calculated prematurely to awaken the passions. She intreated that, on this occasion, he would not consider his reputation as a writer, nor restrict himself to the rules of a drama, since his productions should remain buried within the walls of St. Cyr. He was commanded to attend only to the *utile dulci*; and to convey, in the guise of amusement, instruction to the minds of her fair pupils. The poet, who had at that time left off writing for the stage, perplexed and agitated by this proposition, which he could not help thinking likely to involve his literary fame, consulted Boileau on the occasion, who endeavoured to dissuade him from the attempt: but, to refuse the request of the king's favourite, was a measure too hazardous for a courtier. After some reflection, he thought he perceived in the story of Esther materials worthy of his pen: even Boileau, struck with the idea, which he communicated to him, encouraged him in the execution of his plan. Having sketched the first act, he carried it to madame de Maintenon, who, charmed with the design, intreated him to complete the piece. In the character of the heroine, and in various parts of the drama, she is thought to have found an application which gratified her self-love, and flattered her pride: her triumph

over madame de Montespan, and the minister Louvois, was represented by that of the fair Jewess and Mordecai over the wicked Haman and the haughty Vashti. About a year after the interdiction of profane pieces at St. Cyr, Esther was exhibited, and received with unbounded applause. The merit of the piece rescued it from the walls of the cloister; it was more than once, with equal approbation and success, represented before the king and his whole court. Racine was, by this success, encouraged to make a second essay of his genius in 'Athaliah, a story taken from the Jewish scriptures, which he completed for representation by the following winter. His patroness had, in the mean time, been persecuted by the remonstrances of the devotees, by anonymous letters, the resort of the cowardly and malignant, and by hints of disapprobation from those who envied the fame of the poet. The murmurs of bigotry, and the suggestions of malice, proved but too successful: a stop was put in the cloister to these ingenious and liberal recreations. Athaliah was, however, once or twice privately performed at Versailles, in the apartment of the monarch, but without any theatrical decorations.

On the 19th of March, 1692, the duke of Maine, the favourite pupil of madame de Maintenon,

and the illegitimate son of Lewis XIV. and of madame de Montespan, was espoused to Anna-Louisa Benedicte of Bourbon, daughter to the prince of Condé. Madame de Maintenon, on this event, thus wrote to the abbess de Maubuisson. —"The marriage which you used to recommend so much, has at last taken place; and, I confess, I was always of your opinion."—She goes on to speak lavishly in praise of the princess. In another letter she writes—"The princess is to spend the holy week with you. Let her have repose. The ceremonies and fracas of the court have fatigued her to death. She is oppressed with jewels and embroidery. Her head-dress alone is as weighty as her whole body. These incumbrances check her growth, and injure her health. She is indeed much handsomer bare-headed, than when loaded with the richest ornaments. She eats nothing, and perhaps sleeps little. I much fear she has been too young married. I would be glad to have her at St. Cyr, where she might enjoy herself among my smart little girls, and participate in their innocent mirth and jollity. The austerities of a convent are indeed nothing in comparison with the restraints to which the great are subjected by the etiquette of a court."—"This young princess," says she, on another occasion, "is very handsome, gay, and witty." She had un-

dertaken to form her character.—"If I fail here, adds she, "I henceforth renounce all concern with princesses." To the lady who had her education in charge she writes—"You have beguiled me in the chief article, that of piety. She has no inclination that way. She wishes only implicitly to follow others. I did not desire to see her a great devotee, but I confess I expected to find her regular in her devotion, and submissive to God, to the king, and the duke of Maine." This lady turned out spirited, enterprising, ambitious, intriguing; and, by her extravagance, ruined her husband, who was of a meek and timid temper.

The children of the king, and of madame de Montespan, suffered no loss in the absence of their mother from court. Madame de Maintenon, by her maternal cares and tenderness, amply supplied to them the place of her rival; while, on all occasions, she exerted her influence in preserving the balance between the several members of the royal family, and its political connections. This conduct was honourably remembered by the regent after the death of Lewis XIV.

The campaigns in 1692 and 1693 were the last in which the king was engaged, and the taking of Namur his last exploit: in this expedition he was attended by madame de Maintenon. The favour of approaching that lady, which was not

obtained without difficulty, was sought after with avidity. A lady of small fortune, who wished to marry her daughter to a young man in opulent circumstances, an alliance to which his family opposed obstacles, contrived to glide, one day, into the anti-chamber of the favourite, immediately after dinner: she here pretended to be seized with a sudden indisposition, and, calling for a glass of water, went towards the window, with a napkin in her hand, as if just risen from table. The stratagem succeeded; she was observed; no one doubted that she had been invited to dinner: the report spread abroad, and the family of the young man were determined, by the honour which the mother of his mistress had received, to consent to the nuptials.

The influence of madame de Maintenon in the court of Lewis XIV. is proved by this incident. Her power was, however, in state affairs, confined within narrow bounds. The king was accustomed to consult his ministers in her apartments; where two easy chairs were placed for the monarch and his lady, with each a stool beside it, one for the minister, the other for the work-basket of madame de Maintenon, who amused herself with a book, or employed herself in working, while business was transacted. The king would sometimes turn to her with a smile and demand her opinion.

'What says your gravity?' was his usual question; to which she always returned short and guarded replies. The public gave her not credit for the moderation she observed: by those who regarded with envy her elevated station, she was made responsible for every untoward event.—"It is hard," says she, complaining of this injustice, "that every misfortune we meet with should be attributed to me. If I interfere, as it is pretended, in every thing, it would only be doing me justice to allow that I sometimes give good advice. Since I have enjoyed favour, I never injured any person; nor have I, to my knowledge, been guilty of any crime or injustice. The king has often reproved me for too much moderation: I would rather he should do so, than blame me for importunity. I thought that I should have been able to acquire an entire insensibility to the opinion of the world: but I find I am still as little advanced as at the moment I first resolved to suppress my feelings." Whatever might have been the conduct of madame de Maintenon, it was not possible, in her situation, to escape censure. The disposition of her mind is said by her niece* to have been particularly advantageous to her interest: she was moral and

* Madame de Caylus.

prudent, but every thing centred in self. In cases indifferent, she would do kind offices for others, but she would not encounter the smallest hazard. Her power and influence were used only for the security and maintenance of her station.—*Prudence* was, on all occasions, her characteristic. Even her religion was ritual, and confined to a sect: it wanted charity and enlargement of heart; it was the religion of priestcraft, rather than of the gospel; it had not sufficient animation to defend her against languor and weariness of life. Her situation and character are thus spoken of by St. Simon, a contemporary nobleman of the court:

"She lived and behaved like a queen in private: in public, in the king's presence, in that of the dauphin, of monsieur, or the English court, she appeared as a private individual: she never affected dignity, but readily gave place to ladies of high birth; nor would she easily be prevailed on by them to accept of precedency. When she yielded to their intreaties, it was always with reluctance, and with all the deference of civility. She neither visited nor received visits from any person, excepting the queen of England.* It is however remarkable, that ge-

* The wife of James II. then resident in France.

nerals, on their departure for the army or on their arrival from it, and also every one who left the court or returned to it, on important business, never ailed to pay to the favourite their respects. If she wished to speak to the king's daughters, she sent for them. As this was generally done with a view to some remonstrance, they used to appear before her in trepidation, and were sometimes observed to be in tears at their departure." The society of madame de Maintenon was confined to few persons; and it appears, by her letters, that, had it been in her power, she would still have contracted the circle. Her apartment seems to have been made a sort of rendezvous.—"I can scarcely enjoy," says she, "a few moments of repose. Madame de Dangeau comes to dine with me, and perhaps madame d'Hudicourt, who takes me to task for not having eaten of this or the other dish. I lose temper; she blushes at my impatience, and I am ashamed of it myself. The princesses, who are not of the hunting party, come in with their retinue, and wait the king's arrival to dinner. Their visits are not intended for me, and I take little part in them. At last, the hunters arrive in crowds, and all, with one breath, give us the history of the chase, without bating us a single circumstance. We dine; and, after dinner, madame

de Dangeau, with a yawn, calls for the trictrac table, &c. Thus we pass our time at court."

To this insipidity and constraint more serious inconveniences were added. The monarch, accustomed from his station to refer every thing to *self*, considered others only as they were subservient to his pleasures or caprice. His mistresses, even in the early periods of his life, and during the moments of his fondest attachment, were neither by indisposition, nor the inconveniences of pregnancy, excused, at any time, from travelling, or conforming to the ceremonies of the court. They were obliged always to appear in full dress, to be ready to take a journey, to dance, to sit at table, to attend every festival, and to appear uniformly gay and cheerful: to set out without a murmur, at a minute's warning, and to bear heat, wind, cold, or dust, when seated in the royal carriage, which was generally open, without repining. A single complaint would for ever exclude the complainer from the honour of attending the king, to which ladies only were in general admitted. Even their appetites must be under government. The monarch, though he seldom tasted any thing himself between meals, took a pleasure in seeing others eat. He usually carried with him in the carriage a store of provisions, confectionary, sweetmeats, fruit, &c. By the time they had tra-

velled two or three miles, he would insist on the lady's taking some refreshment; and eat she must, whether sick or well, whether with or without inclination, or offend her royal companion. As the infirmities of age grew upon him, madame de Maintenon gradually shook off the yoke of this petty despotism; but there were other vexations to which she was still liable. Lewis had acquired the habit of living in her chamber, as if it were his own, without considering how much he incommoded her by the bustle his presence occasioned. "I have seen her," says St. Simon, "set out for Marly during a fit of sickness, and travel as far as Fontainbleau, at the hazard of her life. In whatever state she might be, the king, with all his attendants, went without scruple to her apartment, at his usual hour. Sometimes, while she was in a dangerous fever, he would come into her chamber, and, because he wanted air, cause the windows to be thrown open, whatever might be the weather. If he wished to have an entertainment with music and dancing, neither a head-ach, nor any other complaint could excuse her from attending: she was obliged patiently to suffer not only the noise, but the blaze of a hundred candles in her eyes."

There were, however, some hours of retirement allowed to the lady, on which the king never

broke. When at Versailles, she used to pass the mornings at St. Cyr. When at Marly or Fontainbleau, she retired to the remotest parts of the palace, where she ocupied herself in reading, writing, or devotional exercises. This she called her *repose*, and these hours were held sacred from intrusion. At nine in the evening, two waiting-maids attended to undress her; a valet soon after brought her a light supper; her women, when she had eaten it, put her to bed. The king then came into the chamber, spoke a few words to her, and, having with his own hand drawn the curtains close, retired to supper. In the public walks, the royal couch and that of madame de Maintenon were generally seen side by side: the carriages of the princesses followed singly in succession. When the king went on foot, he walked, with his head uncovered, by the side of her chair, frequently stopping, that he might hear the better what she said, and seeming always engaged with her in conversation. When she went home he conducted her to the gate of the palace, took of her a polite leave, and continued his walk*. These attentions to a woman advanced in years, who could scarcely be an object of desire, were a proof of

* St. Simon.

her merit, and of the monarch's esteem. Lewis tasted in this intercourse the charm of friendship; so rarely to be found in his exalted station: to her he confided his anxieties and his griefs; and in her sympathy and attachment experienced consolation. The character which madame de Maintenon gives of the courtiers, bespeaks the situation of the great but as little enviable. "I am not," says she, 'prone to suspicion;' and had I not seen how much the best are corrupted by a court-life, I should never have formed so bad an opinion of mankind. Every one would sacrifice his relations, his friends, and all he ought to hold dear, to please the king, and prove his zeal to serve him. It is painful to view the giddy crowd—in fine, both men and women are here to me equally odious; yet I must receive company: but what company! I am beset with women whom I despise, and by men whom I know to be my enemies. I see and hear every moment things that displease or offend me; yet I must be ever on my guard not to betray the smallest sign of impatience. We have here assassinations in cold blood; envy without the least cause; rage and treachery without any just ground of resentment; insatiable avarice; despair amidst opulence; and meanness, couched under the name of greatness of soul! I must be silent; but I cannot think of it with patience."

Madame de Maintenon was accustomed to dine twice a-week, either at the hotel de Beauvilliers or at the hotel de Chevreuse, in a small party, consisting only of the two dukes, the duchesses, who were sisters, and herself: a hand-bell was, on these occasions, placed on the table, that the conversation might not be restrained by the presence of the servants. To this select circle, Fenelon, the celebrated archbishop of Cambray*, only was admitted. The purity of his manners, his mysticism, his pathetic eloquence, and his affecting devotion, captivated the hearts and the imaginations of the party. The duke de Beauvilliers, when appointed governor to the duke of

* The abbé Fenelon is thus described by St. Simon—"He was a tall well-made man; with a countenance to which intense study had communicated a pale brown hue; eyes sparkling with fire; and a set of features which, after having once seen them, it was not possible to forget. There was in his countenance great diversity, yet no contrariety, of expression; gravity harmonised with gallantry, and seriousness with gaiety. He appeared at once the prelate, the scholar, and the gentleman. His manners were distinguished by delicacy, propriety, dignity, and grace. It was difficult to turn from him your attention. Though all the portraits drawn of him were strongly marked with expression, no painter could attain the justness, the harmony, and the delicacy, displayed in the original."

Burgundy, son of the dauphin and grandson to the king, was desirous of nominating Fenelon as preceptor to his charge; and madame de Maintenon took upon herself the task of removing the obstacles to his promotion. Having made the necessary enquiries to assure herself of his orthodoxy, she spoke to the king in his favour, and procured for him the appointment of preceptor to the prince; an office of which he acquitted himself with fidelity and success, and to which the public were indebted for his celebrated work*. His labours were rewarded by the archbishopric of Cambray.

About this period, a young widow, rich, beautiful, eloquent, and enthusiastic, occasioned a schism in the church, and became the foundress of a new sect. Madame Guyon, by the aid of a warm imagination, and some refined spiritualities respecting the pure love of God, divine grace, and mental abstraction, rendered herself acceptable to the devotees of the court, by whom pleasure had been exhausted, and who were allured by the prospect of mystical enjoyment. Fenelon, whose poetical imagination and susceptible soul rendered him but too accessible to visionary re-

* Telemaque.

fineness, caught from the fair widow her celestial reveries. Attracted by mutual sympathy, they combined into one system their sublime fancies. A new language, or set of terms, was invented between them, to which it is doubtful whether they prefixed any precise notions, to explain their new sensations. But what was wanting in meaning was made up in sentiment, while the sublime obscurity that enveloped their doctrines rendered them but the more seductive. Proselytes daily multiplied: the archbishop of Paris, beholding with alarm the rapid progress of opinions pregnant with dangerous consequences, obtained an order for the removal of madame Guyon from the bounds of his diocese, and, at length, for her confinement in a convent. This persecution but increased her fame; when madame de Maintenon, whose confidence in the knowledge and purity of the archbishop was implicit, expressed a wish to see the injured lady. Fenelon presented madame Guyon to his patroness, but the interview lasted only a few moments: the saint was so enrapt in heavenly contemplation, that it was not without the utmost inquietude, and force upon her inclinations, that she could suffer herself to mix with earthly concerns, or descend to the splendors of this terrestrial world. She however found means, on a farther

acquaintance, to gain, by her address and delicate flattery, the heart of the favourite, who wished to listen to her pious exhortations: to this request she yielded with seeming reluctance, till the *charms* and *virtues* of madame de Maintenon gradually melted away her objections. Her introduction into St. Cyr followed; where she was presented to the pupils, as a person capable of exalting and improving their religious sentiments.

Both the prophetess and the little flock which Fenelon under her direction had formed, received new confidence from these events: dukes and duchesses, ladies and noblemen, enlisted under her banners, and drank deep into her spirit. Versailles was deserted, except when madame Guyon went there by stealth, to deliver in private her pious lectures. An air of mystery, and a profound secrecy, presided over the whole transaction; circumstances which gave their meetings an additional zest. The nomination of Fenelon to the see of Cambray was an unexpected blow: the ladies wept at the promotion of their pastor, from whom it would be necessary to part. The new prelate, whatever might be his feelings on this event, gave proof by his conduct of the rectitude of his mind: in accepting the archbishopric, he resigned an abbey, the only benefice he had ever possessed. He was consecrated at St. Cyr,

in the presence of the pupils of madame de Maintenon and a few privileged persons, by Bossuet: ornamental furniture, belonging to the crown, set off the church on the occasion, and every thing was conducted with the utmost pomp.

About this period (Nov. 4th, 1696), a marriage between the duke of Burgundy, the son of the dauphin and the pupil of Fenelon, and the young Adelaide (daughter of the duke of Savoy), who became the pledge of peace after the war of the allies, gave life and animation to the court, which had for some time been growing formal and spiritless. The young princess paid peculiar court to the favourite of her grandfather, whom she caressed with the engaging vivacity of youth, and from whom she received the most indulgent kindness. The king regarded Adelaide as an angel of peace, and, presenting her to God, prayed that these nuptials might become a source of happiness to his people, and a consolation to his age.

St. Cyr assisted madame de Maintenon in forming the mind of Adelaide, who was scarcely twelve years old when she came to France. She inspired her with a taste for this society, and directed her to select her favourites from among those who were eminent for virtue, or fitted to allure her to the practice of useful occupations. "She sometimes dressed like a lady," says La Beau-

mille, "but more frequently like a girl of the order of St. Lewis. Thus habited, she would go to the *office of the kitchen*, to attend the examination of household accounts; to the treasury, where business was transacted; to the apartments of the novices, where she received instruction; and to the classes, in which, by obeying, she learned to command. It gave her the highest pleasure when no notice was taken of her rank. Considering these as necessary tasks, she entirely dedicated to them her time, and avoided the indolence and luxury of Versailles; and thus became the Antiope whom Minerva formed for Telemachus."

As the time appointed for the completion of the marriage contract between the princess and the duke of Burgundy drew near, madame de Maintenon substituted for her young companions persons of maturer age, who assisted to render her an accomplished woman. When she was guilty of any fault or negligence, she was reminded of her duty by the gloom and dissatisfaction of those around her; while her meritorious actions were rewarded by their smiles and joy. Her *Minerva*, whether present or absent, was solicitous and active to preserve her from the contagion of the court. She assiduously cultivated her understanding by the most instructive lessons and images, by examples from history, and by remarks on the

persons by whom they were surrounded. Her counsels were given both in conversation and in writing. Among many pious reflections, she properly exhorted her always to prefer to any particular act of devotion the duties of her station, and to avoid vanity and idleness. "Vice," said she, "is not less dreadful than dangerous; unhappy vicious habits are easily formed, but they are not broken without the utmost difficulty." She also advised her to love the church, to respect its ministers, to protect respectable characters, to assist the unfortunate, whoever they might be, and to do good, with discernment, and without exception of persons.—"Never," adds she, "protect a person of your acquaintance, to the prejudice of a worthy man not personally known to you." Her advice to the princess, respecting the general tenor of her conduct, her behaviour towards her husband, the courtiers, and the people, is a proof of her prudence and experience. "Hope not," say she, "for perfect happiness; there is no such thing on earth; and, though there were, it would not be found in courts. Greatness is exposed to affliction often more severe than a private station. Be neither vexed nor ashamed to depend on your husband. Let him be your dearest friend, your only confident. Hope not for constant harmony in the marriage

state. The best husbands and wives are those, who occasionally bear from each other, with patient mildness, sallies of ill-humour. Be obliging, without putting a great value on your favours. Exact not a full return for your tenderness. Men are tyrants, who would be free themselves, and have us fettered. You need not be at the pains to examine whether their rights be well founded: it is enough that they are established *. Pray God to keep you from jealousy. The affections of a husband are never to be regained by complaints, reproaches, or sullen behaviour. Speak, write, act, think, as if you were always in the presence of a thousand witnesses. Sooner or later all must be known. Writing is dangerous. The only maxim given to princes, is to practise dissimulation: but it is an unhappy maxim, and often involves them in disagreeable consequences. I had much rather have a prudent frankness. Love your children: see them often. This, either for a princess or a peasant, is the most honourable occupation. Never adopt the passions of others, which it is your business to moderate, not to follow. Never persist in maintaining what you know to be wrong. A princess

* Will this reasoning hold good, applied to every species of usurpation?

should be of no party, but only strive to maintain harmony. Love the state. Love the nobles; they are the support of the state*. Love your domestics; let them make their fortunes, but not enormous ones, in your service. Love your relations, but let France only be your country. In proportion as you love France, France will love you. Refuse not to listen to those who apply for your aid. The power of doing good is your only recompence for the state of servitude in which you are placed by your rank.—You are the first woman in the world; but, not to flatter you, you will also find yourself, on that very account, the most unhappy †."

The marriage of the duchess of Burgundy was celebrated with splendor. The young couple were amiable, intelligent, and attached to each other. Balls were given by the king at Versailles and Marly, in which a series of ingenious and allegorical masques were exhibited. The dauphin, madame de Maintenon, and the princes of the court, vied

* This advice, it should be remembered, is given in a monarchical and aristocratical government.

† This, paradoxical as it may appear, is not said by a person who affects to undervalue unattainable distinctions. Madame de Maintenon was experienced in courts, and had tasted grandeur.

with each other in splendid entertainments. The general peace, the approach of which the arrival of the princess of Savoy in France had announced to Europe, was finally concluded, and signed at Ryswich, three months before the nuptials, in September, 1697*.

A few months after the nuptials of the duchess of Burgundy, madame de Maintenon married her niece, mademoiselle d'Aubigné. "The affair is over," writes she; "it has cost my brother an hundred thousand francs, me my estate, the king eight hundred thousand livres. Due respect, you observe, is paid to differences of degrees. The duke de Noailles gives his son an annual income of twenty thousand livres, and engages, at his death, to double this sum. The king, who never

* During the latter years of the war, the state had been obliged to adopt various extraordinary means of raising money; among these was the poll-tax, which had been imposed on the people. This, on the establishment of the peace, was suppressed by the monarch, as was also the militia, the right of the soldiers to free quarters, with many other grievous impositions. To those who would have persuaded Lewis, in the exhausted state of the finances, to continue these oppressions, he nobly replied—'No; I have kept my word with my enemies, respecting the conditions of peace, and it is but fair that I should also keep it with my subjects, from whom I have received so many proofs of fidelity and zeal.'

does things by halves, grants to St. d'Ayen the reversion of his father's government. What an excellent alliance! I did not foresee so much when mademoiselle d'Aubigné was born!" This letter was written to madame de Caylus, who, of all the young ladies of St. Cyr, had done the most justice to the dramas of Racine.

The fate of the author of Esther and Athaliah was not more melancholy than singular. The most illustrious persons of the court were his friends: the king took a pleasure in conversing with him, and in treating him with familiarity, till, by an inadvertent expression, the unfortunate poet forfeited at once the favour of the monarch and his own life. Having one day been talking with Lewis respecting the theatres of Paris, the king, after exhausting the subject of the opera, began to speak of tragedy and comedy, and enquired of Racine how it came to pass, that the latter, from the perfect state in which he had once beheld it, had now sunk so low. Among other causes, the poet alleged, as the principal, scarcity of good authors.—'For want of good pieces,' added he, 'the players are compelled to produce old ones again upon the stage, and, among others, *those wretched productions of Scarron.*' The widow, who happened to be present, reddened at these words, while the king, looking towards

her, felt confused, and remained silent. Racine was by this pause roused from his absence of mind, and, becoming the most confounded of the three, dared neither look nor speak. The monarch was the first to recover himself, and, on pretence of business, to dismiss the unfortunate poet. Racine, believing himself a lost man, made his retreat in the best manner he was able; and, meeting at the door his friend Cavois, recounted to him what had passed, and the blunder he had committed. Cavois in vain tried to make him easy: Racine felt that his error was irretreivable; nor was he mistaken. From that day, neither Lewis nor his favourite deigned to honour him with the smallest notice. The susceptible mind of the poet languished under the consciousness of his own indiscretion, and the deprivation of the favour of his sovereign: he sunk into a melancholy state, sickened, and expired in the year 1699. This anecdote, if true, does no credit to the liberality of madame de Maintenon, who appears not, on other occasions, to have been equally delicate. In a letter to the duke d'Ayen, having used the word *burlesque*—"I am here," says she, "in my own province, you know: but we often say things of ourselves which we would not choose to hear from others; and, in good as well as in evil, *circumstances* are sometimes every

thing." Racine was almost the last of those men of genius who rendered illustrious the reign of Lewis XIV.

The king was about this period perplexed with the refinements of theology: Quietism, Jansenism, and the disputes concerning the Chinese ceremonies, engaged and divided his attention. Quietism prevailed at court, and at St. Cyr, many years before Lewis understood the subject: he was aware only, that a woman pretending to a kind of inspiration, and whom, on account of her opinions, he had been persuaded to banish from Paris, was afterwards confined successively, by orders procured from him, in a convent, at Vincennes, and in the Bastille. It was with surprise he learned that these abstract notions, which, when madame de Maintenon endeavoured to recommend them to him, he had justly treated as idle reveries, formed the principles of union among a numerous sect, by whom he was every-where surrounded.—"I had not the least idea of Quietism," says the favourite herself, writing on this subject to the ladies of St. Cyr. "I therefore, without suspicion, adopted the sentiments of the archbishop of Cambray. You know with what view I communicated them to you. He was among those who possessed the highest reputation, and to me appeared a saint. I never had any good which

I did not wish to share with you. With these sentiments, I filled your house with his works." The following is the account of the effect produced by those writings.—"They were in frequent transports. Their inclination to prayer became so violent, as to make them neglect the most indispensable duties. One sister, instead of sweeping the house, would lean pensively upon her broom. Another, instead of teaching the young girls, gave herself up to inspiration, and to the influence of the spirit. They retired into corners, to amuse themselves privately with the new doctrine; and, on pretence of aspiring to perfection, they disdained the observance of the common rules of the foundation."

The bishop of Chartres, the diocesan of St. Cyr, perceived the growing disorders, and prepared for them a remedy. The bishop was connected with madame de Maintenon, both as her director and that of St. Cyr. He was eminent for his learning, his morals, and his piety, and high in the esteem and confidence of the favourite, in whose good graces, it is said, Fenelon wished to supplant him. The general manners and appearance of this prelate were greatly to his disadvantage, nor could it appear difficult to his rival, to conquer such an adversary. Fenelon was suc-

cessful in introducing madame Guyon to St. Cyr (a part of his plan), whose visits grew more and more frequent. She at length accustomed herself to pass whole days at this institution, and sometimes many days together, when she sought disciples, whom the novelty of her doctrines easily allured She thus gradually formed a small flock, whose language and maxims appeared singular to the rest, and more especially so to the bishop of Chartres. Under a rough and pedantic appearance, the bishop concealed genius, mildness, firmness, and even elegance of manners, when he chose to display them; but these talents were only exerted on important occasions. His disinterestedness and benevolence kept him poor with a liberal income, and madame de Maintenon frequently supplied his wants. Having learned the new opinions which had spread among the sisters of St. Cyr, he introduced to them two ladies, with whose attachment to himself, discernment, and address, he was well acquainted, and whose reports would, he knew, have their proper influence on madame de Maintenon.

The new proselytes, according to the instructions of the bishop, appeared charmed with their directress, who on her side valued herself upon their talents and reputation, and the conquest she had made. They soon became her favourite dis-

ciples, and to them she unfolded the whole of her doctrines. Fenelon, to whom madame Guyon imparted this success, was equally flattered and gratified. These ladies gave to the bishop an exact narration of all that passed, and made him master of the secrets of the initiated which in due time were revealed to the foundress. Madame de Maintenon heard this account with astonishment, and, upon investigation into the wanderings of the new flock, found that they had greatly departed from the plain path of duty. Perplexed with scruples, and under great inquietude, she spoke to the archbishop of Cambray, who justified his doctrines, denied their consequences, and, by the contradictions in which he involved himself, strengthened her distrust. Suddenly, madame Guyon was banished from St. Cyr, and her books put into the hands of M. de Chartres. Madame de Maintenon herself gave the first example of humility, by labouring earnestly to eradicate the principles to which she had once given countenance. This was a task of difficulty; the visions of fanaticism take fast hold on the imagination, and entrench themselves in the passions: the prelate availed himself of this occasion to exaggerate the mischief of the new doctrine, and to render his rival suspected. Fenelon

sustained himself in this reverse of fortune by his genius and his ingenuity, by sophistical reasoning and mystic authorities, which he produced in a book entitled "*Explanation of the Maxims of the Saints.*" Copies of this work were dispersed by his friends; his opponents attacked it; it was defended with warmth by the author, and, after much controversy, condemned at Rome, March 13, 1699. Fenelon was ordered to his diocese, a mandate which he obeyed; and thence he himself, in obedience to the orders of the pope, issued an edict in condemnation of his work.

On his disgrace, it was recollected that madame de Maintenon had once attempted to obtain a declaration of her marriage. It was also reported, that the archbishop of Cambray had been consulted by the king on the subject, and had given his advice in the negative. To this circumstance his ruin was by many attributed, who affected to consider quietism as a pretence. To this it was added, that madame de Maintenon, to make her purpose sure in the downfal of the prelate, whom she had herself raised, availed herself of the themes which, in his office of preceptor, he had given to the duke of Burgundy, and which she represented to the monarch as containing satires on his person and government. In the celebrated *Telemaque*, passages might indeed be found in-

imical to despotism, and which, if applied to the reign and character of Lewis XIV., might be considered as a reflection: but Fenelon, who had produced them in the course of a classical education, and with a view to the advantage of his pupil, had made no such application. Severe indeed would be the lot of the tutor of princes, if they were prohibited from recommending wisdom or virtue because the practice of the reigning monarch was weak or vicious.

These accusations against madame de Maintenon are wanting in proof, and liable to be questioned: after a private marriage of fifteen years, her ambition, however vehement it might have been supposed, is likely to have been subdued by time and habit. If she really cherished any resentment against Fenelon, it no-where appears in her letters: on the contrary, she discovers a steady attachment to him, in despite of the intrigues of her spiritual director. The following answer was given to her by a divine, who professed himself a minister of the meek and benevolent Jesus, and whom she had consulted respecting the sentiments it behoved her to entertain towards the archbishop of Cambray: 'Not only,' said he, 'are we to lift up our voice against the Nestorians, but also against Nestorius; it is scarce possible to hate heresy, yet love the heretic.'

She, however, paid but little respect to this liberal doctrine; 'And yet,' said she, 'I am at ease.' The king was tormented by this theological warfare, and solemn trifling: Bossuet *, and De Chartres, the archbishop of Paris, urged him to severity against Fenelon, whom father La Chaise, his confessor and a Jesuit, as vehemently defended. The Jesuit charged the bishops with Jansenism, and they retorted on him the charge of a relaxed morality. On this subject, secure in the frailty of his penitent, La Chaise felt perfectly at ease. In vain did madame de Maintenon join her interest to that of the prelates, to induce the monarch to withdraw his confidence from La Chaise, a man whom he could not esteem— 'True,' replied he, 'La Chaise has his weaknesses; but have not I also mine?' Skilful duplicity appears to have been an attribute of the Jesuits: the good father, when the adherents of Fenelon were dismissed from the household of the duke of Burgundy, acquiesced, with the most accommodating policy, in all that was done, exclaimed against madame Guyon, and only took care to support at Rome the archbishop of Cambray's book.

Madame de Maintenon openly attacked the Je-

* Bishop of Meaux.

suits; nor were they more delicate in repelling her assaults. In her letters, she sometimes complains of the mortifications she suffered from them, and sometimes triumphs over them.—"The Jesuits were never so low as at present," she writes at one time: "father La Chaise dares not speak. Their best friends pity them." On another occasion—"Father La Chaise," says she, "has paid me a visit, which seemed intended as an insult rather than as an act of kindness. I shall soon be a Jansenist myself." Notwithstanding this expression, madame de Maintenon had never respected the Jansenists. In a letter to a young woman, brought up at St. Cyr, she writes—"In the New Testament, you will find, that a good tree bears good fruits; and you will perceive that the fruits of the Jansenists are evil. They shake off the yoke of the church; they openly contemn the Pope; they do not indeed loudly blame the king, but they say he is deceived; they refuse any other dependance but that of converting women to their sentiments. Such, they tell us, are able to judge of matters of doctrine."—Terrible heresies, these! The lady goes on—(query; was she sincere?)—"It is a great happiness for us that our *sex*, and the weakness of our capacities, confine us to *implicit submission*"—very good, madame de Maintenon;—"as this is the easiest"—most

assuredly—"and safest way"—that is not so certain;—"but we have not the good sense to avail ourselves of our natural advantages"—better and better. Thus do women of talents, while feeling their own strength, sometimes stoop to a contemptible hypocrisy, and betray the cause of justice and their sex.

Lewis, with a view of astonishing Europe and impressing its powers with dread, had fixed a camp at Compeigne, in which he displayed a magnificence and splendor that eclipsed the most celebrated tournaments: he was pleased to exhibit to the ladies the troops, the army, the divisions, detachments, marches, foraging, expeditions, rencounters, skirmishes, engagements, and the whole paraphernalia of war. The duke and duchess of Burgundy took a distinguished part in all that was going forward. Never was there a more brilliant show. In this ruinous ostentation, his treasury was emptied, and his finances exhausted; while the nation languished from the effects of the late war. Nothing but expence was thought of at Versailles. "Another range of buildings," writes madame de Maintenon, "is to be raised, on which are to be expended a hundred thousand francs. Marly will soon be a second Versailles. I have given offence in a conversation about the buildings. What grieves me

ill, to have put myself to pain for no purpose. I have only to ask pardon, and to take no more notice. But the people—what will become of them?" Yet Lewis affected to have been persuaded into these prodigalities against his will. Some days after he had listened to the economical counsels of madame de Maintenon, he said, in her presence to his minister, who proposed taking down a square and building another in its place—'All these ministers wish to do something which may do them honour with posterity. They have found out the secret of representing me, through Europe, as fond of these vanities. Madame there knows what vexation they have given me on this head. I wish to spare myself such uneasiness in future, and would therefore have nothing of the kind proposed to me. While my people are well supported, I shall always be well enough lodged.'

The eighteenth century began with an extraordinary event. Charles II. at his death, left the crown of Spain to the duke of Anjou, second son to the dauphin of France. Lewis accepted the testament in favour of his grandson.—Thus the Spanish monarchy appeared likely to be transferred to the house of Bourbon. The nations of Europe acknowledged the rights of the prince, and Spain acquiesced with enthusiasm in the will of its deceased monarch. On the 4th of September,

1700, Philip set out to take possession of his kingdom. The king and the dauphin took leave of him at Sceaux.—"I shall never forget the scene," writes the same lady, "in which our princes discovered such mutual and affecting tenderness. Whatever it might cost them, I was charmed with it. I could not have believed a prince capable of so much sensibility." The dukes of Burgundy and Berry, his two brothers, accompanied Philip to the frontiers. Their absence, with their retinue, left a blank in the court, of which madame de Maintenon, in a letter to her nephew, the duke d'Ayen, humorously speaks—"Of whom do you ask news? Of the ladies of the bed-chamber, to be sure. Your foible must be indulged. Madame de Dangeau is become as surprising at trictrac, as at every thing else. Madame de Roucy is going to bear a child. Madame d'O has kept her bed ever since the departure of her husband, viewing the place which he used to occupy, and crying, 'Alas! he is there no longer.'—At uttering this sigh, she falls into a fit, feathers are burnt under her nose, and Gervois called. Sometimes she fancies herself a dove, and sometimes a bacchanal. What shall I say of the plumpness of madame de Chatelet; of the slenderness of the indolent Levy; of the loud laughter of the countess d'Estrées; of the treble pipe of madame d'Ayen; of the gout of

the lady of honour; or, lastly (speaking of herself), of the dexterity with which the lady of the wardrobe turns her spindle?"—She then passes to the king of Spain.—"To whom speaks he oftenest? what part of his time does he devote to business, and how much to pleasure? Is he gay? Has he gloomy fits enough for a Spaniard and a king?"

As Lewis advanced in life, his cotemporaries began to disappear from about him; a circumstance of melancholy reflection, and by which even kings, from whom ungrateful truths are carefully withheld, are reminded of the depredations of time. A curious anecdote, in connection with this subject, is related of the complaisance of cardinal d'Estrée, who, at an advanced period of life, still preserved a fine set of teeth, which the capaciousness of his mouth displayed to view. One day, dining with the king, the monarch, who was fond of conversing familiarly, complained of his want of teeth.—'Ah! sire,' replied the cardinal, with vivacity, '*who has teeth?*'

The house of Bourbon began to experience a reverse of fortune: every thing was on the decline; the resources of the kingdom had been exhausted; and ruin advanced with hasty strides, which a feeble administration threatened to hasten. France had still able generals, which the war had formed; Berwick, Villars, Vendome, and

Catinat. 'Catinat,' said madame de Maintenon, 'knows his trade, but is a stranger to God.' 'What signifies it to the king,' replied Villars, 'whether his servants be devotees or not? You may find the qualities of a great general in a man distinguished for avariee, perfidy, or impiety. I would rather the king had a good general, though with all these defects, than a man eminent for piety but unskilled in war.' Lewis, on another occasion, by a whimsical sort of caprice, not unusual with sectarians, would not permit the son of a lady whom he suspected of Jansenism to remain in the service of his nephew, the duke of Orleans. 'Faith! sire,' replied the duke to him, 'I know nothing about the matter; but to represent the son as a Jansenist is doing him great injustice. He does not even believe in God.' 'Say you so?' returned his majesty; 'you may then keep him.'

Madame de Montespan died in the year 1707. She had long retired from court; an order for which had been imprudently sent to her by her son, the duke of Maine, whom she never afterwards forgave. On receiving this mandate, she departed bathed in tears, and took shelter in the community of St. Joseph, which had been enriched by her gifts. Restless and disquieted, she remained there only a short time; but, visiting her

several estates, passed from one place to another. Devotion at length succeeded in her mind to more tumultuous passions: though voluptuous and ambitious, she had always intervals of piety; and had been accustomed to retire from the arms of the king to her closet, to pray, nor would she for worlds have violated a fast. She had possessed all the faults which beauty and power, by their intoxicating effects, are liable to generate in weak minds; but to her other offences she had never added that of scepticism. Resolved at length to expiate her sins, she put herself into the hands of father De la Tour, general of the oratory, who, as the first act of penance, properly insisted on her asking pardon of her husband, and submitting to his discretion. This humiliation, however terrible, was acquiesced in by the penitent; who addressed a letter to the man whom she had injured so grossly, expressive of her contrition, and containing an offer either of returning to him, or disposing of herself as he should think proper. M. de Montespan, in reply, refused to receive her, or to lay on her any injunctions: he desired never again to hear her name mentioned; and died in these sentiments, in all the agony and resentment of slighted affection. The widow put on mourning, but without resuming the arms or liveries of her husband.

A second sacrifice exacted from her by father De la Tour, was to renounce that attachment to the court, and those hopes, which she still cherished in secret, founded on her knowledge of the king's superstitious weakness, of the age and infirmities of her rival, which her wishes exaggerated, and of the claim which she fondly believed was given to her by their mutual offspring on the mind of the monarch. Her children flattered themselves with the same expectations; yet Lewis never mentioned their mother, nor consulted her respecting the measures he adopted in their favour. She took pleasure in seeing them, and in lavishing upon them presents. Her devotion at length becoming more austere, she denied herself this satisfaction, and turned her liberality into other channels. She made, with her servants, coarse clothes for the poor, among whom she distributed money. In the place of splendid and delicate repasts, a plain and frugal table was substituted; she fasted frequently, abstained from play, saw little company, and often retired to prayer. She wore coarse yellow linen, lined with hair-cloth. She subjected her tongue also, once dreaded for its satire, to a severe discipline.—A youth of voluptuousness, and an age of superstition, a transition commonly seen, and for which it is not difficult to account. The fear of death tormented her: when

it thundered, she would take on her knees little children, that their innocence might prove her security. She slept with her curtains open, several servants in watching, and a number of lights burning round the bed. When she awoke, she wished to find her attendants talking, reading, or amusing themselves with play, that they might not become drowsy.

But, notwithstanding these mortifications, and this wretched fanaticism, she could not prevail on herself to relinquish the state and *hautcur* she had assumed when in the period of her power. To this absurd pride, which she retained in her retreat, those about her were obliged to submit. Her chair, the only one that was allowed in her chamber, was placed at the foot of her bed: even the princesses, her daughters, were compelled to stand in her presence. She rose not to receive the first princes of the blood; and spoke to every person as a queen, at the head of her court. It was nevertheless a kind of fashion to visit her, and to address her with the greatest respect. She entertained as ladies of her bed-chamber a number of poor women, both married and unmarried. Her favourite foible was promoting marriages; but, without the power of bestowing dowries on her dependants, these unions frequently served but to increase their indigence, and aggravate their

distress. She never asked any thing at court, where her name was no longer mentioned, either for herself or others. In her carriages, of which she kept a great number, though in bad condition, an air of magnificence was still visible. She preserved her beauty till the last moment of her life, and, in the midst of health, believed herself sick. She took frequent journeys, as if to escape from death, with which her fancy was perpetually haunted. On setting out for the last time for Bourbon, she paid in advance her charitable annuities, which were numerous, and principally to the poor nobility. She also doubled her ordinary alms, and, though by her own confession in perfect health, declared that she should never return, and that her dependants would thus have time to look out elsewhere for the means of support. Towards the end of her life, she enriched her legitimate son, the duke d'Antin, whom she had previously treated with neglect and unkindness. Her illness was short, and death, which she had regarded with so much terror when at a distance, appeared to her on its approach less formidable.

Towards the latter periods of the life of Lewis XIV., at a time when he stood most in need of repose, he suffered a severe reverse of fortune both public and private. War had exhausted his kingdom, and even threatened the capital, which was

oppressed beneath an increasing weight of taxes. To this were added domestic inquietudes, and the successive deaths of those to whom he was most tenderly attached. "I submit to the will of God," writes madame de Maintenon, whose sentiments may be regarded as the mirror of those of the monarch, "yet cannot dispel my melancholy. A greater share of fortitude is required here, than if I were going out to battle. "In battle you *are killed*," adds she, with an admirable distinction; "here you *die*." An unnecessary number of troops, and a superfluous military apparatus, had rendered, during the reign of Lewis, war more ruinous. France never recovered the pressure. The miseries under which the people groaned, penetrated the palace. In the grand saloon of Marly, once the seat of ostentatious riches, and where heaps of gold had been displayed, the court now tasted and compared the different species of grain, to discern which was best suited to appease the hunger of a famished multitude. The heart of the monarch was pierced by the cries of his people, against which he could no longer shut his ears. The people had been induced to make an offer to government of their plate:—a poor and partial expedient.

"When it came to be known," writes madame de Maintenon to the duke de Noailles, "that

the king had rejected the ignominious terms offered by our enemies, every body applauded the measure—every body insisted on the prosecution of the war. But the emotion was transient*: people's minds soon sunk back into that state of depression which you observed with indignation when you were here. How often have you heard them say—'Why is our plate left us? Would that his majesty would take it all!' But, since the most patriotic have set the example, the rest are struck with confusion and alarm. They murmur, and begin to discover that the king should retrench his expences. They complain of his journeys to Marly, as ruinous to the state. They would have him give up his horses, his hounds, and his attendants; even his furniture displeases them. In a word, they would have him stripped first. And where, think you, these complaints are uttered? At his very gate. By whom? By people who owe to his bounty all that they possess. I am in danger of being stoned. The king, however, has reduced his table at Marly. He has sent his gold plate to the mint. His jewels he has put into the hands of M. Desmarets, to pawn them, if

* An heroic sentiment is usually but a poor support under the pressure of real distress.

he can. But they notice only what is not done."—An affecting lesson to princes!

Murmurs were raised against the ministers; and the king, as observed by St. Simon, acted like a sick person, who, without finding any benefit, changes his physician. The nobility fell in battle, and the court was involved in successive mournings.*

* An anecdote is told, in connection with these circumstances, too curious to be omitted. Marechal, the surgeon of Lewis, observing an unusual degree of melancholy hang about him, ventured to hint to his royal master his fears for his health. The monarch acknowledged, in general terms, that he suffered great uneasiness from the present posture of his affairs. Eight or ten days after, having recovered his ordinary tranquillity, he sent for Marechal, and, taking him aside—'Now,' said he, 'that I feel myself at ease, I will relate to you the cause of my anxiety, and by what means I have got rid of it.' He proceeded to inform him, that the necessity of his affairs having compelled him to impose on his people new taxes, his reluctance to make free with their property, and his compassion for their distresses, had greatly affected him.—'At length,' said he, 'I opened my mind to father Tellder, who required some days to consider on the subject. He has now brought me a consultation of the most subtle doctors of the Sorbonne, who all agree, that as the whole property of my subjects is personally mine, I can take nothing from them but what is my own. This decision has restored to me the tranquillity I had lost.' A casuistry like

On the 14th of April, 1711, died the dauphin, after a short illness: the king lamented in him a respectful and obedient son. In the same year died marshal Boufflers, of whom madame de Maintenon thus speaks: "Every one boasts of his concern for the death of marshal Boufflers. A thousand praises are bestowed on him. In this region, even truth is uttered with a hollow heart!"

Amidst these melancholy impressions, the relief to which madame de Maintenon had recourse, may be seen in the following extract from a letter written by her, from Fontainbleau, to a lady of St. Cyr.—"I am just arrived from Avon: I intended to pass there one hour, and I have staid three. I have been making visits from door to door. I have not seen such agreeable company since my return to court. I ask pardon of the ladies of St. Lewis; but they still retain about them somewhat of the manners of the great world, and are less alert, and less simple, than Geoffroy and Payen. Our school-master, Mathurin Roch, cannot be reconciled to my ignorance, nor I to his knowledge.

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this can surely require no comment. But the state and the hierarchy are both overthrown, and sunk beneath their own weight.

He knows all that I attempt to explain. He reads all, from Canisius to Bellarmine, and would have my poor children profound divines. They tell me that Mathurin, in my absence, never says a word of what I have taught them. He wishes to make them more knowing, yet they seem not to me to profit by his lessons. Frances longs to be married; but she can neither obtain the consent of her relations, nor get the better of her own passion. Susanna says, she no longer sees her best beloved. Yes, I should be sorry to lose my good people of Avon. Nothing about them gives me uneasiness, but their troubles. With them I find integrity, good sense, truth, and honour. They do n't speak so well as we do; but we do n't act as well as they do"—Thus does the mind, wearied of artificial distinctions, turn for repose to simplicity and nature.

After the death of the dauphin, the duke of Burgundy, his son and the pupil of Fenelon, a prince of great promise, obtained through his own merits, and the friendship of madame de Maintenon for his wife, (now dauphiness), the favour of Lewis; who, having with his son preserved the distance and dignity of the monarch, became to his grandson a tender father. It is related by St. Simon, that it was at the persuasion of madame de Maintenon, who was displeased with the ascend-

ancy gained by the ministers over the imbecility of the monarch, that Lewis resolved to throw the weight of government on the dauphin, whose career, though short, was useful and honourable. The dauphin took for the rule of his conduct a maxim exactly opposite to that of his grandfather: *Kings*, he declared, *were made for their people—not the people for their monarch*:—a sentiment which he even ventured to utter in the presence of Lewis himself. The dauphin and dauphiness, by their excellent and amiable qualities, acquired the privilege of saying what they pleased in the presence of their grandfather and of madame de Maintenon. Adelaide had not yet lost the sprightly graces of her childhood, which the good sense of her maturer years had mellowed and regulated. "Never," says St. Simon, "was a princess, coming so young into a foreign court, better accomplished at the time of her appearance there. Her father and mother, both persons of great sagacity and thoroughly acquainted with the French court, had been at pains to teach their daughter how to make herself happy there. The natural genius of the princess rendered their endeavours successful. From the very first she cultivated the regard of the king and madame de Maintenon, whose favour she neglected nothing to preserve, even at the expence of her own inclinations and health. Her

submissive attention to them was unexampled. She studied their characters, suited her gaiety to circumstances, and thus acquired greater freedom and familiarity than even any of Lewis's favourite children. In public, she was serious, respectful, and distant, to the king; to madame de Maintenon, to whom she gave the title of aunt, polite and obliging. In private, she was gay, childish, and fluttering about them. She would seat herself on the arms of their chair, play upon their knees, embrace, caress, tease them, rummage their desks, seize their papers, open their letters, read them sometimes, when she saw them disposed to laugh in despite of themselves, give her advice unasked, and break in upon the king even when in council. Lewis XIV. could not endure to be without her, &c. &c." The capacity of the dauphiness was useful to her husband, who had great merit and was passionately attached to his wife.

The favour which the dauphiness had with the monarch provoked the jealousy of the princesses his daughters, of which the following incident is related by St. Simon. The dauphiness one evening, after prattling in several different languages, and playing a number of childish tricks, to amuse the king, observed the duchess of Bourbon and the princess of Conti making signs to each other of

contemptuous pity. When the king went out, the dauphiness, taking aside the ladies de St. Simon and de Levi, said to them, with indignation (speaking of the princesses)—'Did you observe their gestures? I am not less sensible than themselves of the nonsense which I have been talking, but the king must be diverted.' Then, leaning on the shoulders of these ladies, and turning and leaping round them, she sung the chorus *Je m'en ris; Je m'en moque.* The ladies, in confusion, entreated her to forbear, but still louder she repeated—'I laugh at them. What else should I do? I shall be their queen, and they will have to reckon with me.'—"Ah!" adds St. Simon, "she thought so; the charming princess! and who then thought otherwise? It pleased God to punish us by disposing of her differently."

On Friday, February 5, 1712, the dauphiness was seized in the evening with shiverings, which continued through the night, ceased on Saturday, returned in the evening, and abated on Sunday. About six in the afternoon, she complained of a pain in her temple, which affected only one determinate spot, but to the agony of which she declared the pangs of childbirth were as nothing. The fever increased, and continued unabated on Monday. In the night, and through the ensuing day, she was very drowsy, and awoke only at

intervals for a few minutes; her head was heavy, and some spots appeared on her skin, which it was hoped might prove the measles, then rife at Versailles, and which were regarded as a favourable symptom. The king came often to her bedside, felt her pulse, and shewed great anxiety. On Wednesday, the 10th, an emetic was administered to her, which produced a copious operation, but gave to the patient no relief. The eruption also disappeared. The dauphin, who had not stirred from her bed-side, was now forced down into the gardens to breathe the fresh air; but his uneasiness carried him instantly back. On Thursday the princess was so ill, that it was judged proper to administer to her the sacraments. She was in great distress through the night. The symptoms became worse the next day, and in the evening she complained of a giddiness in her head. Any person was permitted to enter her chamber, although the king was present. He left it but a few moments before she expired, and, with madame de Maintenon, set off in his chariot for Marly. Overcome with grief, they were both unable to see the dauphin, who confined himself in his apartment during one whole day.

On Saturday the 13th, he went to Marly, and attended mass at the chapel. Madame de

Maintenon afterwards waited on him in his own apartment: the meeting was on both sides very painful. The princes and princesses next paid him a short visit. "The time of the king's rising was near," says St. Simon, "and his three gentlemen went in. I ventured to present myself with them. He signified that he noticed me, with an air of kindness and condescension with which I was greatly affected. But I was alarmed at his look, which was fixed, with a degree of wildness in his eye; at his change of countenance; and at a number of large blue spots, which I and every other person in the room observed. Soon after, he was informed that the king was awake. Tears, notwithstanding his efforts to restrain them, dropped from his eyes. He turned himself, without replying, and remained still. His gentlemen once or twice proposed to him to wait on the king. He neither answered nor moved. I entreated, urged, and even took him by the arm and drew him gently forward. He gave me a piercing look, and went out. I followed him a few paces, and then came back to take breath. It was the last time I ever saw him. God, of his mercy, grant I may see him for ever in that blessed abode for which his virtues prepared him!" The dauphin found the assembled court in the chamber of the king, who, the moment he perceived his grand-

son, embraced him tenderly several times. Tears, sighs, and broken words, were all that was uttered on both sides. The king, at length, observed in his grandson the same appearances that had alarmed St. Simon, and ordered his physicians to feel his pulse; which having found feeble and indistinct, they recommended him to go to bed. He obeyed, and never rose again. The symptoms which succeeded were similar to those which had carried off the dauphiness, and, on the 18th of the same month, at eight in the morning, proved equally fatal to her husband. He received extreme unction, and died placidly. The eldest son of this unfortunate pair, thus cut off amidst the fairest prospects, and in the bloom of their years, followed his parents to the tomb a few days after. One son only remained, for whose life the most anxious alarm was excited, an infant two years of age, and afterwards king under the name of Lewis XV.

These affecting circumstances gave rise to a general suspicion of poison. The dauphin himself had died under this impression, and warned his grandfather to be careful of his own safety. The physicians had appeared perplexed respecting the nature of the disorder, and the mode of treating it. On opening the bodies, the notion seemed

confirmed. The court-physicians were of opinion, that only poison could have produced so rapid a dissolution of the blood, and so entire and fetid a corruption. Nor was this assertion contradicted by the medical men in the city. Marechal alone, the king's surgeon, who opened the bodies, ventured to oppose the general prepossession. He maintained that there were no certain symptoms of poison, nor any very uncommon appearances. The mass of blood, he averred, had been corrupted by the natural virus of an ardent fever, of which the husband had caught the contagion from his wife. To assert any thing beyond this, he added, was only destroying the peace of the king, and cruelly embittering his latter days. Yet the same man, in a private conversation with St. Simon, told him, that he doubted whether the deaths were natural, though the indications of poison were by no means certain. Those who maintained this opinion so eagerly, he added, were desirous of criminating the duke of Orleans.

It is true, suspicions against the duke were rapidly propagated through the court, the capital, and thence to the provinces and foreign nations. The duke of Orleans (afterwards regent) was a man of talents, but of known profligacy; the infant son of the dauphin now only remained be-

tween him and the throne. These were the principal circumstances which afforded grounds for the accusation. The insults and execrations of the populace pursued him. At the funeral procession of the ill-fated pair, expressions of indignation overpowered the murmurs of sorrow. The people were scarcely restrained from tearing in pieces the object of their vengeance. In Paris it was found necessary to restrain their fury, which was vented in gestures and exclamations of horror. When the burial passed before the royal palace, the general sentiment burst forth with terrific violence. Every thing was to be feared: the feelings of the courtiers, though less vehemently expressed, were not less deep. The duke was every-where regarded with horror. Those whom he attempted to accost shrunk from him abruptly, and said one to the other, 'Shall a crime so atrocious remain unpunished? Shall justice not be executed?'

It would, perhaps, be deviating too far from the plan of the present work to detail the conduct of the duke on this trying occasion, and the measures which he thought proper to adopt.—Suffice it to say, that his distress, under so cruel an imputation, appeared to be extreme; that he had really been attached to the dauphin, to whom a

mutual taste for the sciences had seemed to unite him; that from their childhood they had grown up together in intimacy under the eye of Fenelon; and that, whatever might be his ambition, or however relaxed his morals, his general temper and character were adverse to the supposition of crimes so flagitious. If suspicions of treachery must be admitted, there were persons who, with a greater show of reason, rested them with the illegitimate children of the monarch, between whom and the dauphin no good-will prevailed, and whose interests were threatened by his favour and probable succession. But on subjects like these, involved in mystery and conjecture, it is difficult for the historian, however impartial, properly to decide. *Madame*, in her FRAGMENTS, observes, that the dauphiness was delicate and sickly; that she was improperly treated in her sickness; that, when nature had brought on a kindly perspiration, and her skin was flushed with eruption, she was taken from her bed and bled, a circumstance in itself sufficient to destroy a patient labouring under the exhaustion of a malignant disorder. The disease, in all its stages, appears not to have differed from a putrid fever; nor is it at all wonderful, that the anxiety and watching of the dauphin should prepare him

to receive the infection, and to sink under its consequences.

The plea of poison was an excuse for the physicians' want of skill, and therefore likely to be countenanced by them.—"They say," says madame de Maintenon, in a letter written on the occasion, "that the dauphin*, on account of his figure, could not have lived another year; but the duke of Burgundy †, and our dear princess, what was there against their living longer?—I weep, and will continue all my life to weep, for the dauphiness. In vain do they try to make me believe that, had she lived, she would have given me great uneasiness. I shall still lament her."

The mourning for the dauphin and dauphiness was general: France never had a prince of higher hopes; the pupil of Fenelon did credit to his instructor. After the death of the prince, the king ordered his cabinet to be brought to him, and, with his own hand, burned all the papers which it contained written by the archbishop of Cambray. Madame de Maintenon, who

* Meaning the father of him just dead.

† The late dauphin.

mentions this fact, justly laments it:—" Never," says she, " was any thing better and more elegantly written. If the prince whom we deplore had faults, they were not to be imputed to his having followed counsels too timid, or listened to flattery."

" His chapter," says St. Simon, speaking of Fenelon, " the other clergy, secular and regular, to whom, according to difference of age, he shewed the affection of a father, or a brother, all gave him the first place in their hearts.—His charity comprehended all mankind ; the rich and the poor, his friends and his enemies. The purity of his morals was never suspected: to suspect them would have been a dishonour. His conversation, though gay and lively, was ever restrained within the bounds of propriety.—Every discreet freedom was enjoyed under his roof; he might be said to array virtue in a dress which improved her charms."—What a pleasure to do justice to the sublimest of all combinations, the union of talents and of virtue! Formed to exalt and to adorn each other, how much is it to be regretted that they should be ever disunited!

Fenelon survived his pupil only two years. On his return from an episcopal visitation, his carriage was overset in a dangerous pass. He was neither corporeally hurt nor even endangered by

this accident, which, however, seized his delicate and irritable nerves. Before he reached Cambray a fever came on, which soon increased to an alarming height. He died as he had lived, a pattern of active yet tranquil goodness. In a letter which he wrote in his last moments to the king, his solicitude was expressed only for the wants of his diocese. He expired at the age of sixty-five, in the arms of his relations and friends, and in the midst of his clergy. Protestants and catholics equally deplored his loss; the truly good and wise man is, without narrow distinctions, the friend of mankind. His liberality and prudence, a rare example, had exactly balanced each other; he left to his heirs neither fortune nor debts. The king himself acknowledged, that the death-bed of Fenelon was worthy of a great prelate.

Lewis XIV. deeply felt his domestic misfortunes, yet he supported them with fortitude. "The first time," says marshal Villars *, "I had the honour to see him at Marly after these disastrous events, the firmness of the monarch yielded to the sensibility of the father. He dropped some tears, and said to me in an affect-

* Vie de Villars.

ing tone, 'You see my condition, marshal; there are but few similar instances of such a succession of misfortunes as have befallen me of late.—To lose, in one week, a grand-son, a grand-daughter, with their son, all extremely promising and tenderly beloved! God lays on me his chastening hand; it is what I have deserved. I shall at east have the less to suffer in the next world. But enough of my domestic troubles; let us consider what can be done to obviate the misfortunes of the nation." This year, though so fatal to the family of the monarch, was less disastrous to France than those which had preceded it.

Lewis XIV. had now reached the advanced age of seventy-six. Madame de Maintenon was three years older. The young people of the court could but ill supply the social losses they had sustained; madame de Maintenon, therefore, contrived to add to their small circle her old friend, the duke de Villeroy, who had for many years been an exile from the court. During this interval he had maintained with the favourite a secret correspondence: she sometimes ventured to mention his name to the king, and even to shew his letters, when they happened to contain interesting intelligence. She seized the present occasion to restore him to the royal favour, and succeeded in her design. He appeared at Marly,

immediately after the death of the dauphin, and was received by the king with cordiality and pleasure. From that moment, he was a third person in the private parties of the monarch and his favourite, and became, it was conjectured, the chief counsellor of Lewis in the settlements which he made with respect to his kingdom and family.

The disastrous events of the latter part of his reign had filled the king with suspicions which gave him poignant anxiety; a conspiracy, it appeared to him, had been formed, of the most horrible nature, for the extirpation of his family. This notion had been strengthened by the dangerous illness of the infant prince, the only remaining son of the deceased dauphin, who had been preserved with difficulty from the fate of his family. The duke of Orleans was removed but one step from the throne; the prejudices against him have been already related; it appeared to Lewis the height of imprudence to trust wholly in his hands the infant heir. With a view of balancing the power of the duke, he listened to the importunities with which he had long been assailed, to bestow on his illegitimate children the full privileges of princes of the blood, without even excepting that of succeeding to the crown. Madame de Maintenon used, on this occasion, all

her interest in favour of her pupils. "Ah, madame!" writes the duchess of Maine * to her, "what miracles the king can work! I know, I feel, the importance of the favour which he has deigned to confer on my family. My children will share my gratitude. I need not now be ashamed to shew them in public."—Lewis himself was not quite so well satisfied of this wonder-working power; he doubted, and not unjustly, of the validity of his own deed. 'It was your desire,' said he, with an air of discontent, one day to the duke of Maine.—'Take care that you do not dwindle to nothing after my death, since I, in my life-time, have made you great. Give validity, if you can, to my deed.' A testament, it was believed, would give strength to the act: the same teasing arts were renewed to induce the old monarch to this new compliance. Lewis for a long time resisted what was required of him, while, in proportion to their urgency, his reluctance appeared to gather strength. Madame de Maintenon and her pupil, perceiving entreaty and remonstrance availed them nothing, changed their battery, and had recourse to different measures. After the death of the dauphin,

* Wife of the eldest prince.

the king had confined himself almost wholly to their society; and their attentions had been redoubled to cheer and amuse him. All at once, they assumed a different manner; they became serious, silent, and even sullen; and made no answers when he attempted to converse with them, or replied only in cold monosyllables. At the age of Lewis, habits are not to be changed; and this gloomy silence was the more barbarous, as he was utterly without resource. The king found himself alone in the midst of his court and family; and involved in a cloud through which he could not penetrate, and which thickened around him. The scheme succeeded; the will was made; and the atmosphere suddenly brightened.

The person of the young king was, by this will, entrusted to the duke of Maine; and a council of regency appointed, of which the duke of Orleans was named president, to govern the kingdom. A hole was opened in a tower of the palace, behind the presence-chamber, in which the testament was deposited, under the security of an iron door with three locks.—'There is my will,' said the monarch; 'what happened in the case of my father, and of my predecessors, leaves me at no loss to foresee what will also happen in the present case: but I have been urged and tormented; I could obtain neither peace nor rest till

it was done. At this price I have purchased tranquillity. Take it; lay it up; it will have what effect it may; but I at least shall be no longer troubled.'—He repeated the same words in the presence of madame de Maintenon, whom he regarded while he spoke with a stern and angry air.

Notwithstanding his advanced age, and the vexations that clouded his latter years, Lewis XIV. held the reins of government with a steady hand. As his strength decayed, he made forced exertions, lest the business of the state should suffer from his infirmities. On the 4th of August, he gave a splendid audience to the Persian embassador. He made new treaties, and renewed old alliances. He put his papers in order, burned such as he chose should not appear, and prescribed articles of ceremonial for the infant dauphin. He wished to convoke a national council, and to re-establish the peace of the Gallican church: but, on the 22d of August, a gangrene, attended with threatening symptoms, appeared on one of his legs. The physicians were of opinion that he would not survive many days. The short interval of his life he devoted to religious meditations and offices, and displayed great tranquillity of mind: the voluptuousness of his youth, his vain-glorious wars, the sacrifice of his people, the oppressive taxes under which he left

them to groan, appeared not to disturb his last moments. Some persons have endeavoured to account for this indifference by pretending that his confessor, father La Tellier, had engaged him to join the society of the Jesuits, vaunting to him of the privileges and plenary indulgences he would thus acquire. To profess with the Jesuits, was, he assured him, whatever might have been his crimes, sufficient to wash away every stain, and to secure the salvation of the criminal. The king, it is added, won over by these advantages (as who, in his situation, would not?) took the vows in secret, of which, though he adopted not the habit, he wore an almost imperceptible sign. But St. Simon, while he relates this anecdote, expresses doubts of its truth; and it is certain that the monarch confessed the irregularities of his past life, and asked pardon for the scandal they had occasioned; acknowledged that he had been too fond of war, and exhorted his successor to avoid his example, to lessen the taxes, and to love his people. He also expressed a regret, that, since the peace, he had not had time to put the kingdom in a flourishing state, and to leave the nation happy. He expired, after having received the sacraments, Sept. 1st, 1715. Some great and amiable qualities had been mingled with

his faults, and his memory was, for a long time, dear to the French nation.

Madame de Maintenon, at the age of eighty, seemed, in the distress which she suffered on this event, to have renewed the sensibility of youth. Her grief was poignant and sincere; tenderness and duty struggled in her mind, while she hesitated whether she ought to close the eyes of the monarch, to receive his last sigh, or to spare her feelings this affecting scene. Lewis, sinking fast into the arms of death, was no longer sensible of what passed around him, or of the endearments of friendship and affection. Every moment, madame de Maintenon questioned the physicians, while her eyes were eagerly fixed on the dying countenance of an object once so dear and revered. Marshal Villeroy, who saw her emotion and dreaded its effects on her feeble frame, conjured her to retire.—'It is I,' replied she 'who should receive his last breath—I have still so much strength and fortitude.' The marshal insisted, and she appeared to yield, when she suddenly exclaimed—'But he still lives; he may perhaps wish to see me. What if his eyes should look for me in vain at the last?' They promised to send for her; she resisted no longer, but set out for St. Cyr. 'My grief,' said she on the way,

'is great, but calm. I shall often weep, but my tears will be tears of tenderness; for, in my heart, I rejoice that he dies like a Christian.'—'I shall now have none but God,' exclaimed she, as she entered St. Cyr, 'and my dear children.' They all crowded into her presence; she gazed on them, and melted into tears, as a fond and widowed mother viewing the pledges of mutual and conjugal affection. She rejoiced in the retreat which she had prepared for herself. "I have seen," said she, in a letter to a friend, "the king die like a saint and a hero. I have forsaken the world, which I never loved, and am now in the most agreeable retirement. I wish, with all my heart, your situation was not less happy." Among the panegyrists who celebrated Lewis XIV. the abbé de Maury*, after enumerating the illustrious men whom his magnificence fostered, and who reflected credit upon his reign, thus concludes—"Amidst this august circle, men of immortal genius whose talents he called forth and rewarded, does Lewis XIV. present himself to the eyes of posterity."

As the decline of the king's health presaged the approaching catastrophe, the illegitimate princes became uneasy to know the contents of the testa-

* Discourse on his reception into the French academy, January 27, 1785.

ment which he had made at their importunity; that measures might be taken in time, to insure its execution. Madame de Maintenon, whom they applied to on this occasion, refused any more to interfere, lest it should disturb the close of the monarch's life. But, unsolicited, when almost expiring, he himself informed the duke of Maine of the dispositions he had made. But all which had been done availed nothing; the legitimated princes wanted spirit to assert themselves; and the duke of Orleans established himself in the regency without control.

In the middle of the year 1717, the czar of Russia, Peter the Great, came to Paris, to acquaint himself with its various establishments, and transmit to his own empire the imitative arts. St. Cyr having attracted his notice, he went thither, examined every thing with minute attention, and requested a copy of the regulations. He then demanded permission to see the foundress of an institution so respectable, to whom he considered his homage as due. She requested leave to receive him in bed, whence her infirmities rendered it difficult for her to rise. The following is the account which she gives of the interview:—"The czar arrived at seven in the evening—He sat down by my bed's-head, and asked if I were sick? I told him I was. He then made them ask me what was my

complaint? I replied, extreme old age. He made no answer; and appeared not to comprehend what I meant. His visit was short. He caused them to open the curtains at the foot of my bed, that he might see me. You will believe that he was satisfied with the sight." La Beaumelle adds to this account, that she blushed; and the ladies of St. Cyr affirmed, that she might even still appear beautiful.

On the death of the king, madame de Maintenon resolved never more to leave her retreat, and she kept her resolution. "It would be ridiculous in me," said she, "to think of any thing but retirement. I must beware of exposing myself to the affected kindness of those who have been made happy, the chagrin of those who are in disgrace, the murmurs of the discontented, or the curiosity of the indiscreet." She was extremely averse to the idea of being still an object of curiosity; and would scarcely, after long intervals and earnest entreaty, admit to her retirement even the ladies she had most esteemed. Long prayers, books, the instruction of the young people, in which she took peculiar pleasure, acts of charity, and working with her needle, occupied and divided her time. She sometimes complained of her infirmities, but without repining or ill-humour. Her reflections on such occasions were rather

serious than melancholy: "Because still somewhat straight," says she, "I am talked of as a person to be shewn for a wonder. Such are the glories of long life. They think it high praise, when they say of me—'She still reasons justly; she writes with a steady hand.' Fine praise, truly! great matter for pride!" A strict regimen was prescribed to her—"I have a keen appetite," says she, in a species of doggrel verse, not without gaiety, "but no other complaint. Fagon *, when I was at the worst, left me to my own sagacity; but now, for a mere nothing, St. Cyr and Besse refuse me food. This is to live to the age of eighty! Would you then have posterity say—'This woman, who in her time made so conspicuous a figure, had many children at St. Cyr; yet died for want of bróth'?"

The following was an aphorism of this lady's—"Begin early, as I have done, to live like an old woman, and you may live as long." A steady adherence to this principle prolonged her life to the age of eighty-three years, with some infirmity, but without any serious disease.

The misfortunes of the duke of Maine rendered her last days uneasy.—"In all my life," said she,

* Her physician.

"I never felt any pleasure so lively as the pain which I now suffer from the misfortunes of others. I have done well, indeed, in not seeking to elevate myself to a condition of enviable splendor." She waited, with courage, the approach of death, eight days previous to which she wrote from her bed—"The sacrament of extreme unction is administered to the sub-prioress in my name, and I see my confessor taking his post."

She expired, April 15th, 1718, without pain or anxiety. Her death, though gradual and natural, greatly affected the family of St. Cyr, who were justly attached to their patroness. The duke de Noailles, who directed her funeral, would permit no funeral oration: "Because," says La Beaumelle, "he thought it better that nothing should be said, than that the half only should be told.'

It is somewhat extraordinary that Lewis XIV. had, at his death, made no provision for madame de Maintenon; but the regent honourably made amends for this omission. Having desired her to name her own terms, she limited her demands to an annual pension of eighty thousand livres *, which was confirmed to her during the remainder of her life.

Madame de Maintenon, who had been much

* Between six and seven hundred pounds.

distinguished in her youth, is entitled to praise for the irreproachable character she had preserved in the midst of a voluptuous age. Monsieur de Barillon, a man whom she had rejected as a lover, but whom she greatly esteemed as a friend, found, after his return from an embassy to England, his former mistress at the height of her favour. One day, observing the king and the court forming a circle round her—'My taste,' exclaimed he aloud, 'is, at least, justified.' The cardinal d' Estrées was no less enamoured of this lady, in whose praise he composed various polite and gallant pieces, that flattered her vanity though they failed to touch her heart His wit, his passion, and his poetry, must also give monsieur Guillaraque a place among the admirers of madame de Maintenon.

Memoirs of madame de Maintenon—Letters of Ditto—Letters of madame de Sevigne—Anquetil's Memoirs of the Court of France, &c. &c. &c.

MARGARET DE VALOIS,

QUEEN OF NAVARRE.

MARGARET de Valois, sister to Francis I. was born in the city of Angoulesme, in April, 1492. She was carefully educated in the court of Lewis XII.

and married to the duke of Alençon, in December, 1509. In April, 1525, she became a widow. She was devoted to her brother with a lively and tender affection: during his detention in Spain, she obtained permission of the emperor to visit and console him in captivity and sickness: it was to her affectionate attentions and cares that he owed his recovery from a malady originating in the vexation and anxiety of his mind. Francis expressed a grateful sense of the tenderness of his sister, whom he acknowledged as the preserver of his life, and whose friendship he returned with warmth and sincerity. By her spirited remonstrances, and pathetic appeals, the emperor was induced to mitigate the severities under which his royal captive had suffered, and even to visit him in his prison.

She was the assistant of Francis in the cares of government, and in giving audience to the foreign embassadors, whom she surprised by her talents for business, and charmed by her eloquence. In these negociations, which were sometimes referred by the king wholly to her, she displayed great art and delicacy, drawing those with whom she conversed into communications of the importance of which they were not aware. During the confinement of Francis in Spain, she assisted his mother the regent, in regulating and governing the

kingdom: by the powers of her mind she extorted the respect of those around her, while by her affability and amiable manners she attracted every heart. Her brother, who delighted in giving her proofs of his friendship and affection, appointed her, after his mother, regent and governess of Dauphiné, with equal honours and powers, as appears by an edict, made during his imprisonment at Madrid, November, 1525. "And if it happen that our said lady and mother, by sickness or other impediment, should be unable to exercise the said command, &c. We, in that case, will and ordain that our most dear, most beloved, and only sister, Margaret of France, &c. shall in all things, respecting the said command, succeed our lady and mother, with the like power, authority, &c. &c."

In 1527 Margaret was given by her brother in marriage to Henry d'Albret, the second king of Navarre, who, by the marriage articles, granted her considerable advantages. On this occasion it was agreed that Francis should demand of the emperor a restoration of the kingdom of Navarre to Henry, with its ancient jurisdiction; and, in case of a refusal, should compel the emperor to acquiesce by an armed force. Margaret received, as a dowry on her nuptials, the duchies of Alençon and Berry, with the county of Armagnac, which

was entailed on the descendants of her marriage, whether male or female.

The new queen aided the efforts of her husband towards improving their dominions: they invited to Bearn, the soil of which, though fruitful, was neglected and waste, husbandmen from all the provinces of France, who occupied and cultivated the lands. They built and fortified towns, erected castles and seats, planted gardens, enacted laws, established courts, and reformed abuses. They polished the court, civilised the people, and defended themselves against the usurpations of Spain, by strong ramparts and fortifications.

Margaret also was greatly inclined to accomplish a work still more arduous and hazardous, in reforming the church and the manners of the clergy. Her opinions leant towards those of the new sect, as the Protestants were then termed, whom she protected under their persecutions: her endeavours to temper the bigotry and soften the zeal of her brother, by means of his confessor the bishop of Senlis, had not been wholly unsuccessful. She had written and published a tract in verse, entitled "The Mirror of a sinful Soul." This production breathed a spirit and sentiment but little according with those of the church of Rome. She patronised, even in Paris, three

preachers, who declaimed with eloquence and boldness against popular errors. She listened to those whom the church denominated heretics, received their books, and caused the Latin prayers of the church to be translated into French by the bishop of Senlis, to whom she spoke of the Lutherans and the articles of their faith. She received into her house, as to a sanctuary, those who, on a religious account, were banished or proscribed. It is allowed by historians that the Reformation, but through her interference, had been stifled in its birth. She supported in schools, at her own expence, many of the reformed both in France and Germany. She endeavoured to preserve those whom freedom of thinking had endangered; and succoured the refugees at Strasburg and Geneva. She sent at one time to the learned in Geneva a benefaction of four thousand livres.

It is recorded of this princess, in the private registers of the parliament of Bourdeaux, that, coming into the court as governess, in the absence of her husband, she requested the release of Andrew Melancthon, accused of heresy, and a prisoner in the court gaol. Andrew, under a pretence of teaching schools, had been sent by his kinsman, Philip Melancthon, to propagate the new doctrines in the Agenois. In her conversation with her brother on these subjects, she sought to

touch his heart with pity for the Lutherans, and would probably have engaged him to favour the Reformation, but for the folly of some zealots, who, in the year 1534, exasperated the king by posting up libels, and drew on the Lutherans a warm persecution.

On the return of Roussel from his travels, he was received at Bearn by the queen of Navarre, who took a pleasure in discussing with him the principles of Protestantism. It was by Roussel that she was induced to peruse the Bible, then rudely translated into French. She conceived a fancy of composing from the New Testament tragi-comic pieces, which she caused to be represented before the king, her husband, by comedians from Italy. In these singular farces the friars and monks were severely satirised. From such representations the royal spectators repaired to apartments, in which sermons or exhortations were delivered by Roussel and other ministers, full of invective against the pope and the clergy. From these devotions, if so they may be called, they descended to a cave to perform the protestant ceremonies.

Francis, informed of the proceedings at the court of Bearn, sent for his sister, whom nevertheless he tenderly loved, to reprove her for her

conduct. To him she professed herself a catholic, but, at the same time, entreated him to suffer the introduction of a reformed mass, called "The Mass in seven Points." The king appeared impressed by the address of his sister, and inclined to adopt the mass of seven points.

Her "Mirror of the sinful Soul" was printed in 1533. The Sorbonne, incensed by its contents, attacked the author in their sermons. A comedy was also performed, in the college of Navarre, in which the queen was represented as a fury from hell. The book was condemned, but on the complaints of Margaret to her brother of the insults she had received, several of the actors in the comedy were committed by Francis to prison, and the university compelled to disown the censure of the Sorbonne.

The celebrated John Calvin arrived about this time in Paris, where he distinguished himself equally by his zeal for reformation, and his intolerance against his brother heretics, who, more bold or more acute, dared to proceed a step beyond him. The fate of the unfortunate Servetus is too well known to require a repetition: so difficult is it to grant the latitude we claim, or to preserve a consistency in our principles and actions. Margaret, by an occasional conformity in complaisance to her brother, a temporising and probably pru-

dent policy, incurred the censure of the Calvinists; while, on the other hand, she became obnoxious to their oppressors. The constable Montmorency, conversing with the king, observed, that, if he wished to exterminate the heretics, he must begin with his own court and family, naming the queen his sister. 'Let us speak no more of that,' replied Francis, 'she loves me too much to believe what I do not believe, or to take up a religion to the prejudice of the state.' Brantome observes, that the queen was suspected of Lutheranism, which she forbore to profess openly through respect to her brother. Yet it is scarcely possible to suppose Francis unacquainted with the sentiments of his sister; the countenance and protection which she afforded to the party could not be concealed. The king, probably from motives of affectionate consideration, chose to affect ignorance on this occasion. By some writers it is considered as doubtful whether the queen of Navarre was merely philosophical and tolerant, or had in reality imbibed the principles of the reformers. A catholic writer* affirms, that, towards the conclusion of her life, Margaret acknowledged the

* Florimond de Remond.

error into which she had nearly fallen, and, resuming her former faith, declared that she had never really abjured it, but that her protection of the heretics resulted from humanity and compassion for their sufferings. That on her death-bed she received the Romish sacrament, and in the later periods of her life attended mass, practised confession, and founded churches and hospitals, among which was that of the red-coat boys at Paris, for the maintenance and education of orphans, whom she ordered to be called "The Children of God the Father." By Brantome it is related, that, after the death of the king her brother, she retired into a convent in Augoumois, called Tusson, where she was frequently seen officiating as abbess, and chanting with the nuns at their masses and vespers.

Highly to the honour of this princess, we are informed, that, beside extending her protection to the huguenots, she defended from the rage and zeal of these reformers, Quintin and Pocques, who, in the language of the times, were called libertines*; but of whose integrity she was persuaded, while she disapproved their opinions. "Believing them to be honest men," said Beza, "though she did not profess their sentiments,

* *i. e.* Men who freely used their understandings.

she thought herself wounded through their sides." Calvin, by whom these persons had been roughly treated, received from her a reproof, in the true spirit of christian charity, for his virulence and bigotry. Her rebuke was answered by the reformer, who probably wished not to offend the protectress of the infant church, in a letter of respect and apology, April 20th, 1545.

Margaret took great pleasure in reading the Scriptures; while Bearn was said to be the sanctuary of all who were persecuted. James Stapulensis, a philosophical writer of those times, was welcomed to the court of Navarre, and received from the queen a pension.

In these liberal pursuits she suffered occasionally some opposition from her husband, who, having been one day informed that his wife had, in her private apartments, adopted a form of worship contrary to established usages, he abruptly broke in upon her devotions, with an intention of punishing the officiating minister, who, however, contrived to make his escape. The wrath of the king, thus disappointed in its object, fell upon Margaret, who, it is reported, received a blow from her husband.—'Madam,' said he, 'you want to be too knowing.' Henry, complaining of his wife's heresies to her brother the king of

France, received from him a severe reprimand. Francis, taking the part of his beloved sister, was offended with her husband for not treating her with the respect due to her rank and merit.

Margaret, whom the spirit of investigation had seized, appears to have entertained some doubts respecting the doctrines of a soul and a future state, which disquieted her mind: she loved not to dwell on the idea of death, of which she had the same terror that characterised her mother Louisa, the queen regent, a sensible and accomplished woman, who had been attached to the world and to its enjoyments. It is related by Brantome, whose mother and grand-mother were attendants on the queen of Navarre, that, during a severe illness, her danger being announced to her by her ladies, she manifested a spirit of repining, and an extreme solicitude for longer life. In answer to those who told her she must prepare for her end, and fix her thoughts on a celestial state—"*Tout cela est vrai*," replied she; "*mais nous demeurons si long-temps en terre avant que venir là.*" She uniformly appeared disgusted with those sermons and discourses of which death was the constant theme. An anecdote, which displays her sceptical curiosity respecting this subject, is too curious and characteristic to be omitted.

She declared, that, having often heard learned doctors and ecclesiastics assert, that, on the dissolution of the body, the immortal part was unloosed and set at liberty, she could not restrain her anxiety to observe whether any indications of such a separation were discernible at the hour of death. For this purpose she chose to witness the expiring moments of one of her ladies of honour, to whom she had been affectionately attached. Having attentively fixed her eyes upon her dying favourite till she ceased to breathe, some of her ladies enquired why she chose to be present at so affecting a scene. 'Because,' replied she, 'I wished to discover whether the departure of the spirit was announced by any peculiar appearance or sound. But I have been able to perceive nothing of this.' Some doctors, she added, had illustrated this notion by a comparison with the song of a dying swan; a sound occasioned, as they believed, by the spirit struggling through the long neck of the bird. She had hoped, but in vain, she said, in like manner to have witnessed some symptoms of the departing soul in her dying friend. In this expectation she had been disappointed, and, were she not well settled in the faith, she should scarcely know what to conclude respecting this separation of soul and body. But she was resolved to believe what God

and the church commanded her, without entering farther into these subtle enquiries.

In the last illness of her brother the king of France, to whom through life she had been tenderly attached, she suffered the most cruel anxiety. She declared, that she would embrace the courier who should bring her news of his recovery; that she would resign to him her own bed to repose in after the fatigue of his journey; and gladly lie on the ground. On hearing of the death of Francis she sunk into melancholy, and indifference to the affairs of life, from which she never recovered.

In December, 1549, the queen of Navarre was seized with a catarrh, while looking at a comet, which she regarded as a sign of the death of pope Paul. She expired within eight days after, in the fifty-eighth year of her age. Of the four children which were the fruit of her second marriage, only one daughter survived her. An infinite number of panegyrics were pronounced at her death.

Margaret was indisputably the most accomplished princess of her time: devoted to the love of letters, she patronised men of learning and genius, from whom she received the flattering titles of the *tenth muse*, and the *fourth grace*. She composed several poetical pieces, collected to-

gether by John de la Haye, her valet de chambre, and published in 1547, under the title of "Marguerites de la Marguerite des Princesses très-illustre Reine de Navarre." She also wrote, in the manner of Boccace, the Heptameron, a collection of novels. Most of these stories are said by Brantome to have been written by Margaret in her litter as she travelled.—"I have this account," adds he, "from my grand-mother, who attended the queen as lady of honour, and who held the standish for her while she wrote with singular facility." In her productions are proofs of her wit, her invention, and her talents: her style, if negligent, is full of beauty. "She was suspected of gallantry, says an agreeable writer*; and perhaps might have been equally sensible in turn to those grand movements of elevated minds, devotion and love. Her tales, scarcely inferior to those of Boccace, indicate, by the warmth of their colouring, a tender and sensible heart, while they inculcate and command chastity and fidelity."

Their authenticity, doubted by some, seems to have been sufficiently established by the epistle dedicatory of the editor, Claude Gruget, who, addressing Jane, only daughter of Margaret,

* Wraxall, History of the House of Valois.

declares, that he had restored the novels to their first state, the former edition, in which the name of the author was concealed or omitted, having totally transformed them. "Wherefore," adds he, "I have collected from all parts the manuscripts which could be recovered, and collated them with my copy. I have also reduced them to the order in which they were written; since then, with the king's permission and your consent, they have been put to the press to be published as they ought. Such a present to you will not be new; you will only recognise it as your mother's heiress. This second impression, restored to its pristine state, will, I persuade myself, be acceptable to you. With the first, I have been informed, you were justly displeased, &c." The Heptameron having become scarce, it was re-printed in 1698 by the booksellers of Amsterdam; when two editions of it were published, one that of Claude Gruget, the other in modern French. Some of these stories have been censured by the severe for the freedom of their descriptions; in excuse for which something must be allowed to the taste and manners of the age, to which modern refinements were unknown: something also to the design of the writer, who, in many of her novels, with a view of throwing an odium upon superstition, paints the dissolute

manners of the monks and priests. It is no uncommon case for writers, intent on the moral, to be negligent respecting the tendency of their productions.

Margaret also occasionally composed comedies and moral interludes, or pastorals, which she caused to be represented by the young ladies of her court. She likewise took great pleasure in writing hymns and spiritual songs. She possessed a devotional turn of mind, though her strong understanding rejected the mummeries of the papal church, and took for her device the marigold (or probably the sunflower), which, turning from east to west, follows the course of the sun, with this inscription, "*Non inferiora secutus*," signifying, that she addressed and directed her thoughts and affections to God. She was on this account, to the honour of the reformed, suspected of Lutheranism.

Some anecdotes are related of Margaret de Valois, and admiral Bonnivet, who, having entertained for her an ardent and almost hopeless passion, was, by the fervor of his sentiments, betrayed into extravagance and outrage. Repulsed by the dignity and virtue of the princess, he sought to gain by stratagem those favours which his eloquence and insinuation had failed to procure; but

the vigilance and spirit of Margaret rendered all his projects abortive.

The generosity with which she protected those who suffered persecution for their religious opinions, reflects on the character of the queen of Navarre the highest lustre; while, if it be true, that, on her death-bed, she protested*, that what she had done for the followers of the new opinions proceeded from compassion, rather than from any ill-will to the ancient religion of her fathers; her merit is enhanced. A conduct like this, in a bigotted and superstitious age, bespeaks an understanding of a very high order. But, without derogating from her merit or talents, it is difficult not to suspect this princess of leaning towards the doctrines and principles of those to whom she proved herself an active and powerful benefactress: to suppose the contrary, in the circumstances and times in which she was placed, is betraying but little acquaintance with the human mind: a toleration and generosity so sublime and heroic, amidst disadvantages so numerous and formidable, where religious indifference does not appear to exist, seems to exceed the limits of hu-

* Florimond de Remond's History of Heresy.

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her husband, waited on the satrap, and entreated to be entrusted with the power enjoyed by Zenis, which she promised to use with the same zeal and fidelity. Her desire being granted, she effectually fulfilled her engagements, and acted on all occasions with consummate courage and prudence.

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She not only defended the places committed to her charge, but conquered others, and, besides paying punctually the customary tribute to Pharnabazus, sent him magnificent presents. She commanded her troops in person, and preserved in her army the strictest discipline. Pharnabazus, on account of her services, held her in high esteem. Maria at length perished by the cowardly treachery of Midias, her son-in-law, who, mortified with the reproach of having suffered a woman to reign in his place, privately gained admittance to her apartment, where he basely murdered both her and her son. But he enjoyed not long the fruit of his perfidy: the cities of Ætolia were soon after subdued by Dercillidas, when Midias, falling into the hands of the conqueror, was stripped of his ill-gotten wealth and power.

Robertson's History of Ancient Greece.

LUCRETIA MARINELLI.

Lucretia Marinelli, a Venetian lady of wit and talents, published, among other works, a production entitled "La nobilta & l'eccellenza delle donne, con dissetti & mancamenti de gli huomini*."

* The Excellence and Nobleness of Women, with the Defects and Faults of Men. Printed at Venice, 1601, 4to.

She composed also, " La Colomba Sacra*," the life of the Virgin Mary and of St. Francis. Not satisfied with contending for the equality of the sexes, she insisted on the superiority of the female over the male. In Paris, 1673, a work on the same subject was published, " On the Equality of the Sexes, a Discourse, physical and moral, wherein is to be seen the Importance of freeing the Mind from Prejudices." The writer of this performance appears to have courted opposition, but, finding no enemy inclined to enter the list with him, he became the opponent of his own arguments, and, in 1675, published a treatise " On the Excellency and Superiority of Man;" in which he purposely betrayed the cause he affected to espouse, and confirmed, though indirectly, his former opinions. Both of these works were reprinted at Paris, in 1679. The author remained concealed. It was at length asserted, in " Nouvelles de la République des Lettres," October, 1685, that Frelin was the name of the writer of these treatises; but, in the same work, some time after, they were, on better evidence, given to Poulain, an ecclesiastic of Lorrain, who had embraced at Geneva the protestant faith. In a third edition, 1691, and in a

* The Holy Dove.

third part of the work published in 1692, the author assumes the name of la Barre.

That women of talents and genius should contend for the existence of those intellectual powers of which, amidst the disadvantages imposed on their sex, they have proof in the force and acuteness of their own minds, is little wonderful. Madame de Gournai, Jaquette Guillaume, and various other writers, both ancient and modern, male and female, have taken up the pen on this fruitful subject. In 1643, "La Femme Généreuse, &c." was published at Paris, which endeavoured to prove, that women were more noble, more politic, more virtuous, more prudent, more learned, and more valiant, than men. Jacobus de Pozzo printed at Upsal, in 1650, "La Donna migliore dell' huomo, Pardossa." Jerom Ruscelli published in 1552, "CHE LA DONNA sia digrun lunga più nobile and più degena dell' HUOMO," a work in which the superiority is yielded to women. He observes that Plutarch, John Boccace, il Cortegiano, l'Agrippa, Portio, il Land, il Domenichi, and several others, have examined the same questions, and adopted the same conclusion. He quotes also Maggio and Bernardo Spina, who wrote in defence of this opinion.

Bayle's Historical Dictionary—Biographium Fœmineum.

MARY,

QUEEN OF HUNGARY.

MARY, sister to the emperor Charles V. was born in 1503, and married, in 1521, to Lewis king of Hungary, who soon after lost his life at the battle of Mohatz. His widow was made governess of the Low-countries, in 1531, in which station she displayed great courage, prudence, and capacity. Her sagacity and penetration were of singular service to the emperor her brother; by whom she was consulted in all affairs of government. She conducted several wars with glory and success, frequently mingling personally on horseback among the troops. She had also a passion for hunting, and would sometimes pass whole days in pursuit of the game, in the forests near her country residences; on which account she received from the Flemings, who painted her as Diana, the title of huntress. She is said to have inherited this taste for laborious sports from her paternal grand-mother, Mary duchess of Burgundy, wife to the emperor Maximilian the first, who, in pursuit of the chase, was thrown from her horse, and expired in consequence of the hurts she received, to the inexpressible grief of the Fle-

mings, and of the emperor her husband; who also lost, by a similar misfortune, his second wife Blanch Sforza.

Mary sought to meliorate the fate of the Protestants in the Low-countries, who suffered from the court of Spain cruel persecutions. Their discontents having risen high in 1566, to appease them the suspension of the inquisition was promised. To this was added an assurance, that the imperial laws, by which heretics were condemned to death, should be mitigated, as they had been, by the request of the queen of Hungary, in 1550.

The queen possessed a strong and masculine mind; and delighted in warlike exercises: she was also fond of study, particularly of the Latin authors; Erasmus dedicated to her a Latin book, in 1529, entitled "Vidua Christiana." Her person was majestic and handsome; her manners agreeable and amiable: she affected magnificence; her court was celebrated for its feasts, its tournaments and splendid spectacles. There appears to have been a particular animosity between this queen and Henry II. of France, which was productive of much mischief and devastation: they ruined, in turn, each other's seats and palaces. These hostilities are said to have been commenced by Mary, whose resentment was excited by songs and lampoons, composed in France, reflecting upon her

honour and that of Barbanson, the most accomplished and elegant nobleman of her court. These aspersions were probably without foundation; the whole tenor of her life was in contradiction to them: her masculine mind and habits but little disposed her to gallantry.

While her brother, the emperor, was besieging Mentz, Mary made a diversion in Picardy, to hinder the king of France from succouring the besieged: she made on this occasion great havoc, burning Noyon, Nesle, Chauny, Roye, and Folembrai, a royal palace built by Francis I. and ruining seven or eight hundred villages. She also laid siege to Heiden, of which she took possession. For these hostilities political motives, independent of private pique, were sufficient to account.

Henry retaliated the injuries he had sustained; he took Marienburg and Dinant, he likewise rased Bouvines, whose wretched inhabitants were slaughtered; ruined Hainault; and burned Mariemont, a country-seat belonging to the queen of Hungary; with the town of Bains, and its magnificent palace, adorned with pictures and works of sculpture. The ancient town of Bavets suffered a like devastation. It is thus that the quarrels of sovereigns, of which the people are the victims, are decided. The

temper of Henry was averse to these destructive and barbarous measures; but a mistaken principle of honour led him to avenge the ruin of his castle of Folembrai; and the insults of the Flemings, who had for two days exposed there a picture of Francis, his father, to the insolence of the populace. Thus, with savage fury, was a war carried on against the arts and humanity. The palace of Bains was celebrated as the wonder of the age. In the queen's chamber was figured, on tapestry of gold, silver, and silk, all the conquests and expeditions of Charles V.: every part of it was furnished with exquisite magnificence and splendor! Mary, on being informed of its destruction, was seized with indignation and anguish. Some time after, while contemplating its ruins, she swore that all France should repent the outrage, and that she would never rest till Fontainbleau was levelled to the ground. Picardy suffered from her resentment and inflexible nature, which bordered on cruelty: the character of the queen of Hungary is justly stained by this imputation. Henry ardently desired to take his fair enemy prisoner, and to observe whether she would retain in captivity the courage and lofty spirit by which she was characterised. The Spanish soldiers, by whom the emperor was entitled "El Padre de

los Soldados,' gave to his sister the appellation of 'La Madra,' or mother of the camp; a title by which she was highly gratified.

She exercised her power in the Low-countries, where she was much beloved, from 1531 till 1555, till the abdication of Charles V. when she resigned the government, and followed her brother into Spain. Before her departure, she expended great sums in preparing sumptuous entertainments for the reception of Philip II. who came to take possession of the Low-countries. She died in Spain, Oct. 18th, 1558, a few days after Charles, at a time when she meditated a return into the Low-countries.

Bayle's Historical Dictionary, &c.

MARY,

AN ANGLO-NORMAN POETESS.

MARY, who made a considerable figure among the Anglo-Norman *trouveurs*, in the 13th century, may be regarded as the Sappho of her age. Unfortunately she mentions but few circumstances respecting herself: she informs us only that she was born in France, without specifying in what province

she appears to have resided in England at the beginning of the 13th century, but she speaks not of the motive which led her thither. It may be conjectured that she was a native of Normandy. Philip Augustus having made himself master of that province, in 1204, many Norman families passed over to Great Britain, where they established themselves. It is scarcely possible to fix on any other French province, under the dominion of the English, as the birth-place of Mary, whose language is neither that of Poitou nor of Gascony. She appears, however, to have been acquainted with the *Bas-Breton*, or Armoric tongue; whence it may be inferred that she was born in Bretagne. The duke of Bretagne was at that period earl of Richmond in England; many of his subjects were in possession of knights fees in that honour; and Mary might have belonged to one of these families. She was versed in the literature of Bretagne, from whose writers she frequently borrowed. It is, notwithstanding, by no means improbable, that she acquired the knowledge both of the Armoric and English languages in Britain: she was also mistress of the Latin. Her attainments afford a testimony, not merely of her capacity and talents, but seem likewise to imply a rank of life that allowed, with leisure, the means of study. Mary appears to have sought in her writings a tem-

porary distinction, rather than to have considered posterity, since she says nothing that can throw any light upon her history; her christian name only is mentioned; and the reader is left in equal ignorance respecting her patron.

Her first poems are a collection of lays, in French verse, forming various histories and adventures of brave and gallant knights. The stories, according to the manner of the times, are generally remarkable for a singular or wonderful catastrophe. These lays are in the British Museum, among the Harleian MSS. No. 978. They constitute the the largest, and at the same time most ancient, specimen of Anglo-Norman poetry, of the kind, that has come down to the present age. The romances of chivalry among the old Welsh and Armoric Britons, appear to have furnished Mary with the subjects of her lays. She informs us, that, depending upon an excellent memory, she sometimes committed these stories to verse, after having merely heard them recited; and, at others, composed her poems from what she had read in the Welsh and Armoric MSS.

Mary observes, that she hesitated long before she devoted herself to this species of literature; that she often began to translate some Latin story into the *romance* language; but desisted, because so many

writers had already trodden the ground. She therefore confined herself to the subjects of the Welsh and Armoric lays, a choice which her success justified. Her Lays, which treated of the passions and emotions of the mind, appear to have been very popular. Denis Pyramus, an Anglo-Norman poet, testifies that they were heard with pleasure in all the castles of the English barons, and were relished more particularly by the women. He also speaks of them himself with praise: a panegyric from a contemporary writer can scarcely be doubted. Mary, as a foreigner, was particularly anxious to ward off the severity of criticism; she applied herself, for this purpose, carefully to the polishing of her works. The chief reward of a poet, she tells us, consists in first perceiving the superiority of his own performance, and estimating his claims to public esteem. Her unremitted attention, her apprehensions of failure, and repeated efforts to attain excellence, are expressed, by herself, with much nature and simplicity:

> Ki de bone mateire traite,
> Mult li peise si bien n'est faitê, &c.*

Her Lays are dedicated to some king, whose name is left to conjecture; but, from various circumstances, is believed by the learned to have been Henry III.

* Prolog. des Lais, de Marie.

In proof of this opinion it appears, by the prologue, that the writer was apprehensive lest her success in a strange country should expose her to envy. She could not then have written in France. She sometimes, also, when at a loss for a syllable, intermixes in her verses pure English words—"Fire et chaumdeles alumez.' It should, therefore, seem that she wrote for the English. She is careful to translate into English all the Welsh and Armoric proper names; it follows, that she dedicated her Lays to a king who understood English. She declined translating Latin histories, lest her name should be confounded with the multitude of those who had preceded her; a circumstance corresponding with the reign of Henry III. when numerous Normans and Anglo-Normans had, for more than half a century, translated from the Latin romances of chivalry. We are informed, by Fauchet and Pasquin, that Mary lived in the middle of the 13th century, which coincides with the reign of Henry III. Denis Pyramus, who it is known wrote at that period, speaks of her as a contemporary, as an author whose person was no less beloved than her writings. These circumstances combined appear nearly conclusive.

The Lays of Mary are twelve in number. The first is the lay of *Guiguemar*, son of Pridial, lord of Leon in Lower Brittany. Of this M. le Grand gives

an analysis in his Tales of the 12th and 13th Centuries: it consists of 860 verses. The second is the lay of *Quitan*, lord of Nauns or Nantois, and contains 314 verses. The third is the lay of *Fresne*, a history of the son of a Bas-Breton knight, who, although legitimate, is left exposed, as base-born, under an ash-tree: it consists of 450 verses. The fourth is *Bisclaveret*, and relates the history of a Bas-Breton knight, who is changed into a warwolf: 284 verses. The fifth is the lay of *Lanval*, a knight of king Arthur's round table, who, being falsely accused by the queen of having insulted her beauty, is, by the orders of Arthur, tried for the offence at Cardiff, and delivered by a beneficent fairy, who conveys him to the isle of Avalon: 646 verses. M. le Grand has translated this lay into prose in his *Fabliaux*; there is also an ancient English metrical version of it, by Thomas Chestre. The sixth is the lay of the Lovers, who perished at the same instant, victims to their passion and to the caprice of a parent. The subject of this romance seems to be taken from the Ecclesiastical History of Normandy. The priory of the two lovers still remains near Rouen, which, according to tradition, was founded by the repentant father on the spot where the lovers perished, and over the tomb which contained their remains: 242 verses. The seventh is the lay of *Yvenec*, a Bas-Breton knight,

the son of Muldumaric, lord of Carvent: 552 verses. The eighth is *Laustic*, the romantic history of a Bas-Breton knight, in which a nightingale makes a considerable figure: 158 verses. This tale has been translated into English metre, under the title of "The *Nythingale*." The ninth is *Milon*, a British knight: 536 verses. The tenth *Chaitivel*, the story of a lady of Nantes, beloved by four knights, three of whom are slain in a tournament; and the fourth, Chaitivel, or The Unhappy, dangerously wounded: 324 verses. The eleventh, the lay of *Chevrefeuille*, an incident taken from the amours of Tristan de Leonnois with the wife of king March, his uncle. The twelfth, the lay of *Elidus*, a Bas-Breton knight: 1184 verses.

The smaller poems of Mary are said to be important towards the knowledge of ancient chivalry. Manners are described agreeably, and faithfully; the attention of the reader is arrested by the subjects of the stories, by the interest with which the writer skilfully blends them, and by the simple and natural language in which they are related. Notwithstanding her rapid and flowing style, nothing in the details is forgotten or omitted. The benevolent fairy, the deliverer of Lanval, is depictured with peculiar grace, while the costume of the age is accurately observed. The writer appears to have

possessed, with a refined taste, great sensibility: her subjects are all melancholy; she touches and melts the heart of her readers, and calls forth all the passions of the mind.

Fauchet, who seems to be unacquainted with the Lays of Mary, mentions only her Fables, as do La Croix du Maine and Du Verdier. A collection of fables, translated in French verse, is her second work, in the prologue to which we are informed, that she had not engaged in it but for the solicitation of a man who was "the flower of chivalry and courtesy," and whom she styles earl William.

M. le Grand, in his preface to these fables, which he has published in French prose, hazards a conjecture, but without sufficient ground, that by Guillaume is meant William earl of Dampierre, though William de Dampierre never acquired the title of earl. It is rather in England, where the fables were composed, that the William alluded to by Mary is to be sought; and the qualities by which he is characterised seem particularly to accord with those of William Longsword, natural son of Henry II. and created earl of Salisbury and Romare by Richard Cœur de Lion. William Longsword was renowned for valour: the epithets applied to him by Mary, "the flower of chivalry, &c." emphatically express the general sentiment of his contemporaries. He died in 1226; the fables, therefore, must have been

written previously to this date. The reputation Mary had acquired by her Lays, doubtless prompted the earl to solicit from her a similar translation of Æsopian fables, then existing in the English language. The fables display, with that beautiful simplicity of language peculiar to the ancient romance, great penetration and acuteness. It is possible that La Fontaine might have had them in view; and he appears to have been actually indebted to these fables for some of his subjects. Mary wrote in French at a time when the language, yet in its infancy, had a natural, artless, unpremeditated phraseology.

There are in the British Museum three MS. copies of the Fables. The first is incomplete, and contains only sixty-one fables; the second has eighty-three; the third, one hundred and four. M. le Grand speaks of having seen four MSS. of these fables, each differing in number, in the libraries of France. These varieties are probably to be attributed to the transcribers.

There is a controversy respecting the Fables by the learned in antiquities, some of whom doubt whether an English collection of Æsopian fables really existed in the 13th century; or whether the Fables of Mary do not bear a greater resemblance to those of Phædrus. In testimony that Mary really translated her fables from a collection existing in her times,

under the title of "The Fables of Æsop," is a MS. in the Royal library, 15 A. VII. which contains, in Latin, a great part of the Æsopian fables, or fables attributed to Æsop, and which expressly mentions their having been translated into English. This MS. bears the date of the 13th century. There is also internal evidence of the fables having been translated from the English. The talents of Mary are, however, not affected, though it should be admitted that many fables which he had never written were ascribed to, and bound up with, those of Æsop. The fables called Æsopian, which existed in the time of Mary, were published under the name of Romulus, the emperor, by whom they are said to have been translated from Greek into Latin. Mary gives to Romulus this title; and, after observing with how much advantage the learned might occupy themselves in extracting from the works of the antient philosophers proverbs, fables, &c. for the purpose of instructing and training men to virtue, she adds, that the emperor had successfully pursued this plan with his son, to enable him to conduct himself with propriety through life, &c.

Who this emperor was, whether he was indeed an emperor, or Romulus the grammarian, it little imports: it is sufficient to know that, in the time of Mary, there actually existed a collection of fables called Æsopian, published under the name of Ro-

nulus; that the author had imitated Phædrus; that these Latin fables had been translated into English; and that from this version Mary translated them into French verse.

The learned are likewise divided respecting the author of the English translation, which by some is imputed to king Henry, by others to Alfred; while many deny it to be either, believing, with more probability, that the authors and compilers are rather to be sought for among the monks in the monasteries.

The third work of Mary is a tale in French verse of St. Patrick's Purgatory, originally composed in Latin by a monk, at the abbey of Saltrey, dedicated to the abbot of that monastery, and to be found in MS. in many public libraries. There are two translations of this tale into French by different writers: the first in the Cotton library, domit. A. IV. the second in the Harleian, No. 273: the former consisting of eight hundred lines, the latter seven hundred. M. le Grand has given an analysis of one of these translations in his Fabliaux, vol. V. and on his authority it is ascribed to Mary. In the Cotton MS. there is nothing in support of this opinion; nor in the Harleian is the name of Mary mentioned. It is conjectured that she is the writer, from the translator having in the preface entitled the work "a lay," in which he professes he had rather

engage than relate fables. M. le Grand possibly had better evidence, but he mistakes in supposing the tale an original, it being positively declared in the Harleian MS. that the work was translated from a Latin romance. This poem was at an early period translated into English verse, and is to be found in the Cotton library, Calig. A. II. under the title of *Owayne Miles*; sir Owen being the hero of the piece, who descends into St. Patrick's purgatory.

Whether Mary was the author of any other pieces is uncertain: her taste, added to the facility with which she composed the lighter kind of poetry, afford a presumption in the affirmative.

From the translation of a letter to F. Douce, esq. F. A. S. Archæologia, or Miscellaneous Tracts relating to Antiquity; vol. XIII.

DAMARIS, LADY MASHAM.

Damaris, born at Cambridge, January 18th, 1658, was the daughter of Dr. Ralph Cudworth, master of Christ's college, Hebrew professor in the university, and the celebrated author of "The Intellectual System." Damaris was educated by her father with particular care, and distinguished in early youth for her learning and piety. She studied divinity and philosophy under the direction of her father, and of Mr. Locke, author of "The Essay

on Human Understanding," who was many years domesticated in her family, and who died in her house at Oates, in Essex, in 1704.

This lady married sir Francis Masham, of Oates, in Essex, to whom she was second wife. One son, Francis Cudworth Masham, was the fruit of this marriage, in whose education his mother exerted all her talents. He became afterwards one of the masters in Chancery, and accountant-general of that court. Soon after the marriage of lady Masham, Mr. Norris, attracted by the reputation of her learning and piety, inscribed to her his "Reflections upon the Conduct of Human Life, with reference to the Study of Learning and Knowledge:" London, 1689, 12mo. This compliment produced, between lady Masham and the author, an intimacy and friendship, which appears afterwards to have been dissolved through the different opinions of Mr. Norris and Mr. Locke, on the subjects of philosophy and theology.

Mr. N. published soon after his "Practical Discourses of Divinity." Several letters on the subject of this publication passed between the writer and Mrs. Mary Astell. In these letters, which were afterwards made public, it is maintained "that mankind are obliged, strictly, as their duty, to love with desire nothing but God." Lady Masham, on this occasion, took up the pen, and published, anony-

mously, a treatise, entitled "A Discourse concerning the Love of God;" London, 1696, 12mo. In this production she examines and endeavours to confute the ideas of Mr. Norris, &c. animadverting upon those who strain their principles to an impracticable height.

Mrs. Astell still continued to maintain her hypothesis, which is derived from the philosophy of Malebranche, and replied to lady M. in a work entitled "The Christian Religion, as professed by a Daughter of the Church of England." About the year 1700, lady Masham published "Occasional Thoughts in reference to a Virtuous or Christian Life;" London, 1705, 12mo. She complains in this performance of the neglect of religious duties from an ignorance of religious principle; enforces the necessity of a reform; and animadverts on the neglected education of daughters, among persons of high rank, and the frivolity and dissipation in which they consume their time. She goes on to descant generally on the manners and characters of the times, without confining her remarks to those of her own sex; on the ignorance of the majority of English gentlemen, not merely of religious doctrines and their duties as christians, but of history, politics, morals, and the laws and constitution of their country, an acquaintance with which is essential to the characters of men and of Englismen, and indispen-

sable as a qualification for the stations they are appointed to fill. She adds—"Thus wretchedly destitute of all that knowledge which they ought to have are our English gentlemen: and, being so, what wonder can it be if they like not that women should have knowledge; for this is a quality that will give some sort of superiority even to those who care not to have it. But such men as these would assuredly find their account much better therein, if tenderness of that prerogative would teach them a more legitimate way of maintaining it." After observing, that a woman capable of instructing her children, and of implanting in their minds just principles, could scarcely escape becoming an object of ridicule, under the title of a learned lady, for the most laudable use of her time and talents, she very sensibly asks—"And is not the incurring of general dislike one of the strongest discouragements that we can have to any thing?"

Thus, expostulating with one sex, and endeavouring to inspire the other with a generous emulation, she exhorts women to assume their true dignity, and, by the instruction of their children, to raise the character of the age; reminding them of Cornelia the mother of the Gracchi, and of Aurelia the mother of Julius Cæsar; who, by their care in the education of their sons, rendered eminent service to their country.

Lady Masham gave in her own conduct an example of the duties she inculcated. She always professed herself greatly indebted to Mr. Locke for her acquirements in arithmetic, geography, chronology, history, philosophy, and divinity; while she repaid his instructions by the most perfect friendship, and the most grateful and affectionate attentions. She carefully and tenderly nursed him in his last sickness: the evening before his decease, he exhorted her to regard this world but as a preparation for a better. Perceiving his end draw near, she was solicitous to sit up with him through the night; but this mark of her attention he refused to allow. On the ensuing day, as she read to him in a low tone of voice a portion of the Psalms, he desired her to read louder, which she did: he continued to listen to her with attention till interrupted by the approach of dissolution, when he told her to break off, and a few minutes after expired.

Lady Masham, as a tribute of grateful respect for his memory, drew up a biographical account of him, which is printed in the great Historical Dictionary, and which is there said to have been written by a lady. She survived her friend and tutor only three years, and died, with fortitude and resignation, April 20th, 1708. She was interred in the middle aisle of the abbey church at Bath. Over her grave is a black stone, thus inscribed: "Dame Damaris

Masham." On a pillar near the grave is a plain white marble monument, an urn on the top, and the following inscription:

" Near this place lies Dame Damaris Masham,
Daughter of Sir Ralph Cudworth, D.D. and second
Wife to Sir Francis Masham of Oates, in the
County of Essex, Bart.
Who, to the softness and elegance of her own sex,
Added several of the noblest accomplishments and
Qualities of the other.
She possessed these advantages in a degree
Unusual to either, and tempered them with an exactness
Peculiar to herself.
Her learning, judgment, sagacity, and penetration,
Together with her candour and love of truth, were very
Observable to all that conversed with her, or were acquainted
With those small treatises she published in her life-time,
Though she industriously concealed her name.
Being mother of an only son, she applied all her
Natural and acquired endowments to the care of his
Education.
She was a strict observer of all the virtues
Belonging to every station of her life, and only wanted
Opportunities to make those talents shine in the
World, which were the admiration of her friends.
She was born on the 18th of January, 1658,
And died on the 20th of April, 1708."

Ballard's British Ladies—Biographium Fœmineum.

MATOAKS.

MATOAKS, or Matoacka * (alias Rebecka), daughter to prince Powhatan, emperor of Attanoughkamouck †, was converted and baptised to the christian faith, at the age of 21, in 1616. The infant colony of Virginia owed its preservation to Motoaka, who may be considered as a national benefactress. In her 13th year, in 1607, she saved the lives and procured the liberty of capt. Smith and his people, whom her father had designed to murder by surprise. In 1612, she was herself a prisoner, and soon after married Mr. Rolfe. In 1616, having been instructed in the English language, and in the principles of Christianity, she was brought to England, and introduced at court. The ensuing year she died at Gravesend, on ship-board, in her way home. Her good sense raised her above the prejudices of her education, and the barbarous customs of her country: her humanity and generosity reflect honour upon her memory. She was the first Virginian that learned to speak English, and that embraced the tenets of the christian church.

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* She is called Pocahontas in Smith's History of Virginia.

† Virginia.

TARQUINIA MOLSA.

TARQUINIA, daughter of Camillo Molsa, knight of the order of St. James of Spain, and granddaughter of the celebrated Francis Maria Molsa, a poet and rhetorician of Modena, was born in the sixteenth century. Contemporary writers speak of this lady as a prodigy of erudition, and are lavish in praise of her genius, her learning, her virtues, her accomplishments, the graces of her manners, the sweetness of her temper, and the charms of her person. Her father observing, while yet in early childhood, the capacity and intelligence displayed by Tarquinia, determined to give to her natural talents every advantage which education could bestow. She was taught with her brothers the rudiments of language and science. John Politiano, a native of Modena, famed for his knowledge, his talents, and his virtues, was appointed her preceptor. Under Lazaro Labadini, a celebrated grammarian, she studied composition and the belles-lettres. From Camillo Corcapani she acquired a knowledge of rhetoric, and from Antony Guarini, a mathematician, the doctrine of the sphere. By Francis Patricio, a famous philosopher, she was taught the art of poetry; with him also she read Plato. With P. Latoni she studied logic, philosophy, and the Greek language. Abraham Rabbi taught her the principles

of the Hebrew, which led her to theology, in which she displayed extraordinary acuteness and subtlety. From John Maria Barbier, a man of learning and taste, she attained the purity of the Tuscan language, in which she wrote several elegant poems, also letters and other compositions, which obtained the approbation of the first critics and scholars of the age. She composed in Latin, both in prose and verse; she also translated from both the Latin and Greek with fidelity and elegance.

As a relaxation from severer studies, she cultivated music with success, both vocal and instrumental. She possessed a fine voice, which she modulated with great skill and management. The first masters were ambitious of assisting her, among whom were, Giaches d'Uuerto, Lusasco Lusachi, and Horatio, who taught her the violin, on which, as on the lute, she played with exquisite skill. *Alphonsus* II. duke of Ferrara, who had a passion for the arts, was transported by her performance and execution. She instituted a female concert, over which she presided, and which did her great credit.

To this account of the endowments of Tarquinia by Hilarian de Coste, may be added the eulogium of Paul de Ribera *: "You have not," said he, ad-

* Or, according to other writers, Francis Patricius, one of her tutors.

dressing Tarquinia, " read books superficially, as is the custom of ladies, nor do you merely possess, in its purity, the Tuscan language; but also the Greek and the Latin, in the former of which you read and understand, not merely the orators and historians, but the philosophers and Plato himself, Jove's rival in eloquence. You are also acquainted with the poets, and read Pindar without difficulty. And, what almost surpasses belief, you learned Greek, while I read Plato to you, in the space of three months. You compose, with facility, verses in Latin, while in Tuscan you produce poems full of wit and ingenuity. The subleties of logic you solv without difficulty: of the ethics of Plutarch, Aristotle, and Plato, you are perfectly mistress. What proficiency have you made in physics, in casuistry, in divinity! How incomparable is your skill in music, in which you have no equal! When you sing to the lute, or to your lyre, the Graces and the Muses adorn and inspire you. Language is inadequate to give an idea of your perfections. What wit, what spirit, what a charm in your conversation! what sweetness in your manners, what elegance in your deportment! Bendictus Manzolus, your countryman, bishop of Reggio, has justly exalted you, not only above your father, the eloquent Camillus, but also your grandfather, Francis Maria

Molsa, a man not less eminent for his talents than for his merit."

This lady, so highly extolled by contemporary writers, espoused Paulus Porrinus, whose widow she became while yet in the bloom of youth. Overwhelmed by this affliction, she was compared to Artemesia for the excess of her sorrow: though childless, she determined never to contract a second marriage.

She was highly esteemed at the court of Ferrara; while Rome, in presenting to her the freedom of the city, conferred upon her an honour unprecedented among her sex. "The senate and people of Rome," says Hilarion de Coste, "decreed to her, in testimony of her merit, the privileges of a Roman citizen; which, to do her yet more honour, was extended to the whole family of Molsa." The following is a translation of the grant or patent: "As Fabius Matheus Franciscus Soricius, knight, and Dominicus Coccia, consul, have proposed to the senate to grant the freedom of the city of Rome to Tarquinia Molsa of Modena, the daughter of Camillus, the senate and people of Rome have thus decreed: Though it be new and uncommon for the senate to admit into the number of citizens women, whose merits and fame, being confined within the limits of domestic virtues, can seldom be of public utility to the commonwealth: yet if there be among them one, who surpasses not merely her own sex, but

even men in almost all the virtues, it is just and reasonable that, by a new example, new and unusual honours should be paid to new and unusual merit. Since, therefore, Tarquinia Molsa, a native of Modena, a most ancient and flourishing colony of the people of Rome, and daughter of Camillus (who, for his merits and nobility, was made knight of the order of St. James, &c.), imitates, and by her virtues resembles, those famous Roman heroines, wanting nothing to complete her glory but the honour of a citizen of Rome; we, the senate and people of Rome, have decreed to present her with the freedom, &c."

In the patent, inserted by Ribera in her eulogium, the qualities, studies, endowments, birth, and ancestors of Tarquinia, are particularly enumerated. The decree passed in the capital, Dec. 8th, M.DC. Curtio Martolo and Angelo Fosco, being chancellors of the senate and of the Roman people.

Tarquinia is said, by Ribera, to have retained her beauty and graceful manners till an advanced period of life, and to have confirmed the opinion of Euripides, "that the autumn of beauty is not less pleasing than its spring." It is added, that the perfections of her mind surpassed the graces of her person; and that in virtue and learning she ranked with the most eminent and illustrious characters. She is extolled by the same writer for her chastity and modesty. Hilarion de Coste describes her as

visited by the most accomplished persons of all countries, whom the reputation of her extraordinary endowments attracted. By a homage so flattering, he affirms, she was never intoxicated; that, fond of a quiet and retired life, she avoided rather than courted distinction; and that her manners were equally distant from self-complacency and contempt for others. Should there appear something like exaggeration in these accounts, it must be remembered, that, before the diffusion of literature, small talents were conspicuous and meritorious in proportion as they were rare and of difficult attainment.

Bayle's Historical Dictionary—The Female Worthies, &c.

THE HON. MRS. MONK.

THE hon. Mrs. Monk, daughter of lord Molesworth, an Irish nobleman, and wife to George Monk, esq. is celebrated for her poetical talents. She acquired by her own application a perfect knowledge of the Latin, Italian, and Spanish languages; and, from a study of the best authors, a decided taste for poetical composition. She appears to have written for her own amusement, rather than with any view to publication. Her poems were not printed till after her death, when they were published under the title of "Marinda; Poems and Translations upon several Occasions," 8vo. London, 1716. A dedication to Caroline, princess of

Wales was prefixed to them by lord Molesworth, the father of Mrs. Monk, who speaks of the poems as the production "of the leisure hours of a young woman, who, in a remote country retirement, without other assistance than that of a good library, and without omitting the daily care due to a large family, not only acquired the several languages here made use of, but the good morals and principles contained in those books, so as to put them in practice, as well during her life and languishing sickness, as at the hour of her death; dying not only like a Christian, but a Roman lady, and becoming at once the grief and the comfort of her relations."

These poems and translations are said by Mr. Jacob, in his Lives of the Poets, to have, with the true spirit of poetry, a delicacy of turn, and justness of thought and expression. The subjects are: "Runaway Love," translated from Tasso: "An Eclogue, in return for a tale sent by a friend:" "Masque of the Virtues against Love," from Guarini: "Human Frailty:" "On Providence:" "The Timorous Lover," from Guarini: part of the fifth scene of the second act of Pastor Fidó, translated: "A Pastoral Dialogue," from the Spanish: "On a Lady's Statue in marble:" "Sonetto from Guarini:" "Canzone, from Petrarch:" "An Epistle to Marinda:" "To Marinda; a puerperium canzone of

Monsignior Della Casa:" "A Dialogue between Lucinda and Strephon, on a Butterfly that revived before the fire, and afterwards flying into it, was burned:" "An Ode on the late Queen's Birthday:" "On seeing the present Empress of Germany:" "Madrigals," in imitation of the Italian; "A Translation from Tasso; Gierusalemme Liberata:" "Upon Orpheus and Euridice," from the Spanish: "Mocoli, a poem, addressed to colonel Richard Molesworth, at the camp at Pratzdel Rey, in Catalonia. 1711:" "Epitaph on a Lady of Pleasure;

O'er this marble drop a tear,
Here lies fair Rosalinde;
All mankind were pleas'd with her,
And she with all mankind."

On her death-bed, 1715, at Bath, Mrs. Monk addressed some verses to her husband, *in London*, in which she takes an affecting leave of him.

Ballard's British Ladies, &c.

MORATA (OLYMPIA FULVIA).

Olympia Fulvia Morata was born at Ferrara, in 1526. The talents and merit of her father, who taught the belles-lettres in several cities of Italy, advanced him to the post of preceptor to the young princes of Ferrara, sons of Alphonsus I. The capa-

city and thirst of knowledge displayed by his daughter, induced him to cultivate her genius; when the rapidity of her progress excited the surprise and admiration of the court. She was chosen for a companion to the princess of Ferrara, who was studying polite literature, for the purpose of exciting in her a generous emulation. She answered, on this occasion, without difficulty, the questions that were proposed to her, declaimed in Latin and Greek, and explained the paradoxes of Cicero, to the astonishment of her auditors.

On the death of her father, her mother being an invalid, Olympia was recalled home, to superintend the affairs of the family, and the education of a brother and three sisters. Some offence, of what nature is unknown, which she had given to the duchess of Ferrara, is also alleged as a cause of her removal from court.

Andrew Grunthler, a young German, who had studied physic, and taken his doctor's degree at Ferrara, becoming captivated by the endowments of Olympia, prevailed on her to give him her hand. After her marriage, she went with her husband to Germany, taking with her her brother, whom she carefully instructed in the Greek and Latin languages. They arrived at Augsburgh in 1548, and, after a transient stay, proceeded to Schweinfurt in

Franconia, the native place of Grunthler. Schweinfurt was shortly after besieged and burnt: Olympia and her husband escaped with difficulty, and fled, in the utmost distress, to Hammelburgh, where they were not suffered to remain. When reduced to extremities, Grunthler fortunately received from the elector palatine an invitation to be professor of physic at Heidelberg. This event happened in 1554, when, believing themselves eligibly settled, this unfortunate pair began to hope for repose. But the distresses and hardships which Olympia had suffered, undermined her health; she was seized, at the moment of a reverse of fortunes, with a severe indisposition, and, after lingering for some months, died October 26th, 1555, in the twenty-ninth year of her age. On coming into Germany, she had embraced the protestant religion, in the profession of which she continued till her death.

She was the author of several works, a great part of which were burned with the town of Schweinfurt: the remainder were collected by Cælius Secundus Curio, and published at Basil, 1558. They consisted principally of orations, dialogues, letters, and translations.

Biographium Fœmineum, &c.

COUNTESS OF MOUNTFORT.

JANE of Flanders, countess of Mountfort, the most extraordinary woman of her age, was, in 1342, roused by the captivity of her husband, and the falling fortunes of her family, to the most heroic efforts. In a disputed succession in Brittany, which the count of Mountfort claimed as his inheritance, he was besieged in the city of Nantz, which having been taken by treachery, he fell into the hands of his enemies, and was conducted a prisoner to Paris. No sooner had the countess received intelligence of the fate of her husband, than she assembled the inhabitants of Rennes, where she at that time resided, and, carrying in her arms her infant son, recounted to them what had passed, deplored the fate of her husband, and recommended to the care of the people his unfortunate orphan, the sole remaining heir of their ancient princes, to whom they had ever professed the most zealous attachment. She declared herself willing, in a cause so just, to risk every peril and hazard; she spoke of the sources which, in the alliance of England, still remained to them, and exhorted them to make one generous effort against an usurper, whom France was desirous of imposing upon the states. Moved by her eloquence, her courage, and her affecting situation, the audience

vowed, in defending the rights of her family, to conquer or perish with the countess. The other fortresses of Brittany caught the same spirit, and embraced the same resolution. The countess passed from place to place, encouraging the garrisons, and providing them with the means of subsistence and defence. After having put the whole province in a posture of resistance, she shut herself up in Hennebonne, where she waited with impatience the promised succours from England, to which she sent over her son, for his safety, and for a pledge.

Charles de Blois, the competitor of her husband, solicitous to make himself master of so important a fortress, and, still more, to make the countess, whose courage and capacity he dreaded, a prisoner of war, sat down before Hennebonne with a numerous army, and conducted the attack with industry and vigour. The defence was not less spirited; the besiegers were repulsed in every assault, while frequent and successful sallies were made by the garrison. In all military operations, the countess herself was the first and the most active. Having one day perceived that the enemy, employed in an attack, had neglected to provide for the security of a distant quarter of their camp, she immediately sallied forth, at the head of two hundred horse, threw the besiegers into confusion, and, with a great slaughter, set fire to their tents, their baggage, and their magazines. But on

her return to the garrison, she found herself intercepted, and her retreat cut off, the enemy having thrown themselves between her and the gates. Her resolution was taken in the instant: she ordered her men to disband, and to make the best of their way to Brest. At an appointed place of rendezvous, she met them, collected another body of five hundred horse, returned to Hennebonne, broke unexpectedly through the enemy's camp, and was received by the garrison with acclamations of joy: encouraged by this example of female heroism, and by the reinforcement brought by the countess, they determined to defend themselves to the last extremity.

The reiterated attacks of the besiegers, and the repeated breaches made in the walls, at length rendered it necessary for the besieged, every hour in expectation of a general assault, diminished in numbers and exhausted by fatigue, to treat for a capitulation. During a conference for that purpose, in which the bishop of Leon was engaged with Charles de Blois, the countess, who had mounted a high tower, which commanded a view of the sea, descried some sails at a distance, and immediately exclaimed, 'Behold the succours! the English succours! no capitulation!' This fleet, prepared by Edward III. for the relief of Hennebonne, and which had been detained by contrary winds, entered the

harbour under the command of sir Walter Manny, one of the bravest captains of England. The garrison were, by this reinforcement, animated with fresh spirits: they immediately sallied forth, beat the besiegers from their posts, and obliged them to decamp.

The countess, notwithstanding this reverse of fortune, finding herself overpowered by superior numbers, determined on passing over to England, to solicit from Edward more effectual aid. Having obtained from him a considerable reinforcement, under Robert d'Artois, she embarked on board of a fleet of forty-five ships, and sailed back towards Brittany. They were met by the enemy in their passage, when an action ensued: the countess, with her usual courage, charged the foe sword in hand; but the fleets, after a sharp action, were separated by a storm, and the English reached Brittany in safety. Robert d'Artois was successful in his first exploits, but survived his triumphs only a short time; when the party of Charles regained their advantage. The king of England himself, after these vicissitudes, undertook in person the defence of the countess; when the war became more general, and was thenceforth conducted in the name, and under the standard, of the English and French monarchies, which had previously acted only as allies to the competitors for Brittany.

The flames of war still continued their devastations, when Charles de Blois, having invested the fortress of Roche de Rien, the countess of Mountfort, reinforced by some English troops, attacked him during the night in his entrenchments, dispersed his army, and took him prisoner. His wife, in whose right he had pretended to Brittany, compelled by the captivity of her husband, assumed, in her turn, the government of the party, and opposed herself, a formidable and worthy rival, both in the cabinet and in the field, to the countess of Mountfort.

The mediation of France and England failed to put an end to the disputes in Brittany, till Charles de Blois was at length slain, at the battle of Auray. The young count de Mountfort, soon after, got entire possession of the duchy, and, though a zealous partisan of England, had his title acknowledged by the French king, to whom he did homage for his dominions.

Hume's History of England, &c.

MAGDELENE DE SAINT NECTAIRE.

MAGDELENE DE SAINT NECTAIRE, widow of Gui de St. Exuperi, was a protestant, who distinguished herself in the civil wars of France. After the death of her husband, she retired to her château

at Miremont, in the Limousin, where, with sixty young men, well armed, she was accustomed to make excursions on the catholic armies in her neighbourhood. In the year 1575, M. Mental, governor of the province, having had his detachments often defeated by Magdelene, resolved to besiege her in her château, with fifteen hundred foot and fifty horse. Sallying out upon him, she defeated his troop, but finding, on her return, her château in possession of the enemy, she galloped to Turenne, a neighbouring town, to procure a reinforcement. Mental awaited her in a defile, but was vanquished and mortally wounded.

Bayle's Historical Dictionary.

THE DUCHESS OF NEMOURS.

MARIE DE LONGUEVILLE, sovereign princess of Neufchâtel, was born in 1625, and married, while yet in early youth, to the duke de Nemours. Madame de Nemours, by her virtues, her prudence, her sagacity in trying and difficult times, her endowments, and taste for polite literature, reflected lustre upon her birth and rank. Her Memoirs of the Court of France, during the tempestuous minority of Lewis XIV., are written with candour and ability, and form an interesting period of French history. Monsieur de Longueville, her father, who had espoused

the party of the princes of the blood, was, by the address and moderation of his daughter, recalled to his allegiance, and rescued from the dangers which were about to overtake him. In times of civil contention, and amidst the rage of party, the duchess preserved her independence, and, declining to take an active part in the factions which rent and divided the nation, contented herself with observing all that was passing. Cool and penetrating, she discerned the characters, and discovered the intrigues, of the leading men on either side, with the secret manœuvres of those who took a less open part, and availed herself of her knowledge in the composition of her Memoirs. Her high rank and station in the court of the queen-regent qualified her to be the historian of that eventful period.

Dictionnaire Historique—Ann Thicknesse's Sketch of the Lives and Writings of the Ladies of France.

MARGARET CAVENDISH,

DUCHESS OF NEWCASTLE.

MARGARET, youngest daughter of sir Charles Lucas, a man of fortune and family, was born at St. John's, near Colchester, in Essex, towards the latter end of the reign of James I. She lost her father while in her infancy: her mother, a beautiful and accomplished woman, educated her daughters

with care and tenderness. Margaret displayed early a taste for literature, to which she devoted the greater part of her time. In 1643, the court residing at Oxford, whither she obtained permission from her mother to go, she was chosen maid of honour to the queen, Henrietta Maria, wife to Charles I. The family of the Lucases being distinguished for loyalty, Margaret accompanied her royal mistress, when driven from England by the turbulence of the times to take refuge in her native country. At Paris she became acquainted with the marquis of Newcastle, then a widower, who, already prepossessed in her favour by his friend lord Lucas, her brother, became attracted by her merit, and offered to her his hand and heart. They were married in 1645, and from Paris passed to Rotterdam, where they remained six months. Thence they repaired to Brabant, to the city of Antwerp, where, quietly enjoying the remnant of their shattered fortunes, they continued during the remainder of their exile. In this retreat, Margaret, by her talents and virtues, cemented the affection and confidence of her husband, who, respected and esteemed by his countrymen and foreigners, confined himself principally to the society of his wife, of whose value he proved his high and just sense by various elegant compliments and addresses.

The marquis becoming entangled in pecuniary

embarrassments, the marchioness returned to England, with a view of obtaining the rents due to her husband, for the supply of their necessities, and the repayment of the debts they had been compelled to contract. Her efforts, however, were fruitless; and their distress must have been extreme, but for the generosity of sir Charles Cavendish, brother to the marquis, who, in administering to their relief, injured his own fortunes.

With the supply obtained from their relations, the marchioness returned to Antwerp, where she continued with her husband till the restoration of Charles II., on which event the marquis, after sixteen years' exile from his native land, made preparations for returning. The marchioness remained at Antwerp for a short period after the departure of her husband, to settle their affairs; which having successfully effected, she rejoined him in England, where the remainder of her life was devoted to domestic tranquillity, and to the cultivation of letters.

She kept a number of young ladies in her house, whom she occasionally employed as her amanuenses; some of them slept near her own chamber, that they might be ready to rise in the night, at the sound of her bell, and commit to paper any ideas that occurred to her. She produced no less than thirteen folios, ten of which are in print. In speaking of herself, she says, "That it pleased God to command

his servant Nature to endow her with a poetic and philosophical genius even from her birth, for she did write some book even in that kind before she was twelve years of age." By this account it appears, that she began to write philosophical treatises previous to having read any; her speculations, of course must have had the merit of originality, since she was nearly forty years of age, she informs us, before she perused any philosophical authors, "in order to learn the terms of art." One of her maxims was curious, and may in some measure account for her numerous productions: she seldom revised the copies of her works, "lest it should disturb her following conceptions." Her writings, though now sunk into neglect, procured, during her own times, the most extravagant encomiums and lavish compliments from learned bodies, and men of eminent erudition. Some specimens of this adulation have been given by Mr. Granger, from a folio volume, now scarce, of Letters and Poems, printed in 1678, consisting of one hundred and eighty-two pages, filled with the most extravagant and hyperbolical panegyrics on the duke and duchess of Newcastle, particularly on the duchess, from the universities of Leyden, Cambridge, Oxford, &c. A still greater number of extracts, from the same book, are given by George Stevens, the learned editor of Shakspeare, affording a curious specimen of academic flattery,

of which the following epitaph, designed for her grace, by the students of Trinity college (1668), is in proof:

"To Margaret the first:
Princess of philosophers:
Who hath dispelled errors;
Appeased the difference of opinions;
And restored peace
To Learning's commonwealth."

Whatever might have been the foundation of this lady's pretensions to philosophy, or however extravagant many of her compositions, it is certain that she added to acuteness of mind considerable powers of imagination and invention. She is said, by Mr. Jacob, to have possessed a great deal of wit, and a more than ordinary propensity to dramatic poetry. The language and plots of her plays are all original; but her fancy wanted the rein of judgment, her taste correctness, and her mind cultivation. The author of the Connoisseur, in his vision of Parnassus*, speaks handsomely of the duchess, whom he represents as being assisted in dismounting from Pegasus, on whom she had firmly kept her seat, while he had galloped with her out of sight, by Shakspeare and Milton. He even hints that the latter borrowed many of the finest thoughts in his

* No. LXIX. vol. ii.

L'Allegro & Il Penseroso, from this lady's Dialogue between Mirth and Melancholy.

A humorous anecdote is related of the duchess: Dr. Wilkins, a man of genius and imagination, author of "An Essay towards a real Character, and Philosophical Language," projected the art of flying, when the nature of air was but little understood. He attempted, in one of his projects, to shew the possibility of a voyage to the moon. 'But, doctor,' said the duchess of Newcastle, 'where am I to find a baiting-place, in my way up to that planet?' 'Madam,' replied he, 'of all people in the world, I should the least have expected this question from your grace, who, having built so many castles in the air, may lodge every night at one of your own.'

The duchess composed plays, poems, orations, and philosophical discourses. Of dramatical writers, a species of composition for which she had a peculiar predilection, she is said to have been the most voluminous. The fertility of invention which is displayed in her plots and dialogues, atones in some degree for their various defects. The following is a catalogue of her known works:

1. The World's Olio.

2. Nature's Picture, drawn by Fancy's Pencil to the life. Written by the thrice noble, illustrious, and excellent princess, the lady marchioness of Newcastle. In this volume are several feigned stories of natural descriptions, as

comical, tragical, and tragi-comical, poetical, romancical, philosophical, and historical, both in prose and verse: some all verse, some prose, some mixed, partly prose and partly verse. Also there are some morals, and some dialogues, but they are as the advantage-loaf of bread to the baker's dozen; and a true story at the latter end, where there is no feigning. London, 1656. Folio.

3. Orations of divers sorts, accommodated to divers places. Written by, &c. Folio. London, 1662.

4. Plays. London, 1662.

5. Philosophical and Physical Opinions. London, 1663. Folio.

6. Observations upon Experimental Philosophy; to which is added, the Description of a New World. Second edition; London, 1668. Folio. Mr. James Bristow began to translate into Latin some of these discourses. Vid. *Ath. Oxon.* vol. ii. col. 835. Plays, twenty-seven in number.

7. Philosophical Letters, or Modest Reflections upon some Opinions in Natural Philosophy, maintained by several famous and learned Authors of this age, expressed by way of Letters. By, &c. &c. London. Folio. 1664.

8. Poems and Phancies. The second impression, much altered and corrected. London, 1664. Folio.

9. CCXI sociable Letters. London, 1664. Folio.

10. The Life of the thrice noble, high and puissant prince, William Cavendish, duke, marquis, and earl of Newcastle; earl of Ogle; viscount Mansfield; and baron of Bolsover, of Ogle, Bothal, and Hepple; gentleman of his majesty's bed-chamber; one of his majesty's most honourable privy-council; knight of the most noble order of the Garter; his majesty's lieutenant in Ayre Trent North: who had the honour to be governor to our most glorious king and gra-

cious sovereign in his youth, when he was prince of Wales; and soon after was made captain-general of all the provinces beyond the river of Trent, and other parts of the kingdom of England, with power by a special commission to make knights. Written by the thrice noble and excellent princess, Margaret, duchess of Newcastle, his wife. Folio. London. 1667.

This work, styled by Mr. Langbain "the crown of her labours," was translated into Latin and printed.

11. Plays, never before printed. London, 1668. Folio.

Apocryphal Ladies, a comedy; consisting of twenty-three scenes, not divided into acts.

Bell in Campo, a tragedy, in two parts. In the second play are several copies of verses, written by the duke.

Blazing World, a comedy. A fragment.

Bridals, a comedy. Comical Hash, a comedy.

Convent of Pleasure, a comedy.

Female Academy, a comedy.

Lady Contemplation, a comedy, in two parts. Three scenes in the first, and two in the second, written by the duke.

Love's Adventures, in two parts, a comedy. A song and epithalamium in the last scene; second part by the duke.

Matrimonial Trouble, in two parts; the second being a tragi-comedy.

Nature's Three Daughters; Beauty, Love, and Wit: a comedy, in two parts.

Presence, a comedy. To this are added twenty-nine single scenes, designed to have been inserted in the play, but left out to shorten it, and printed separately.

Public Wooing, a comedy. Many of the speeches by the duke: as that of the soldier, the countryman, the

spokesman for the bashful suitor; with two scenes and two songs towards the conclusion.

Religious, a tragi-comedy.

Several Wits, a comedy.

Sociable Companions, or Female Wits, a comedy.

Unnatural Tragedy; prologue and epilogue by the duke. Act the second, scene the third, the duchess against Mr. Camden's Britannia.

Wit's Cabal, a comedy, in two parts. Epilogue to the first part by the duke.

Youth's Glory and Death's Banquet, a tragedy, in two parts. Two scenes and the speeches at the first part in commendation of Mlle. *Sans Pareille*, written by the duke, with all the songs and verses in the second part.

The Blasing World, Bridal, Convent of Pleasure, Presence, and Sociable Companions, printed together in one volume; the remaining plays in a second.

In the library of the late Mr. Thomas Richardson, were the duchess of Newcastle's poems, two volumes, folio, MS. Vid. Richardson's Cat. p. 50. In that of the late bishop Willis, is another MS. of her poems in folio. Vid. Cat. p. 55. Her historical writings were defective in chronology.

She died in London, towards the end of the year 1673, and was interred in Westminster-abbey, January 7th, 1673-4, where an elegant monument is erected to her memory, and to that of the duke, who died at eighty-four years of age, 1676, and was buried with his wife.

Of the family of Lucas it is said, "that all the brothers were valiant, and all the sisters virtuous." The person of the duchess was graceful, and her manners reserved: she was indefatigable in study, humane, generous, and pious: she was an admirable economist, an excellent wife, and a kind mistress.

Biographia Britannica—Ballard's Memoirs of British Ladies—Biographium Fœmineum, &c.

LADY FRANCES NORTON.

Lady Frances Norton, descended from the ancient family of the Frekes, in the county of Dorset, was born about the middle of the seventeenth century. Her talents were improved and cultivated by a learned education. She was first married to sir George Norton, knt. of Abbot's-Leigh, in the county of Somerset, to whom she bore three children, two of which died young, and were buried in Westminster-abbey. Grace, the third, who displayed extraordinary powers of mind, married sir Richard Gethin, bart., of Gethin-Grot, in Ireland, and died in the bloom of life, to the inexpressible grief of her mother. To divert her thoughts from dwelling on this melancholy event, lady Norton had recourse to her pen. She wrote and published two books:

"The Applause of Virtue," in four parts; published in 4to. 1705, and dedicated by the author to a relation, madame Freke, of Shroten: also "*Memento mori*, or Meditations on Death," which she dedicated to her cousin, the honourable Mrs. Elizabeth Hamilton. These productions, which abound with quotations from the fathers and philosophers, bear testimony to the learning of the author, and her acquaintance with ancient literature.

Lady Norton was not less respectable for her virtue and good sense, than for her literary attainments. Her hours were divided between her studies, religious observances, and domestic occupations. Learning, which in those times made a part of the accomplishments of women of rank and fortune, precluded the necessity of an expensive and senseless dissipation, destructive of moral duties and domestic affections, in which, in the present age, the time and the talents of women are melted and frittered away. The liberalities of lady Norton to the church were upon an extensive scale. She was married a second time to colonel Ambrose Norton, and, after his death, a third time, to Mr. Jones. She was living, in an advanced age, in 1720.

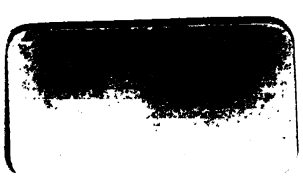
Ballard's British Ladies—Biographium Fœmineum.

THE HONOURABLE MRS. DUDLEY NORTH.

THE honourable Mrs. Dudley A. North, born in July, 1675, was the younger daughter of Charles lord North, of Kirtling, and baron Grey of Rolleston, by Catherine the daughter of William lord Grey, of Wark. The two sons of the lord North being instructed at home by a private tutor, their sister was desirous of receiving the same lessons, and joining in their studies. Having made a rapid progress in the Greek and Latin languages, she wished to acquaint herself with the original language of the Old Testament, and with Oriental learning. By long and severe studies, under which her health declined, she effected her purpose. A consumptive disorder, occasioned or aggravated by a sedentary life and intense application, put a period to her existence in April, 1712. Her brother, the lord North and Grey, was, at the time of her decease, in Flanders. Her remains were carried to Kirtling (or Catlidge) in Cambridgeshire, the ancient seat of the family, and interred with her ancestors, by her uncle, the honourable Roger North, esq. whom she left her sole executor. She had made a valuable collection of books, which, after her death, were presented by her only surviving brother, the lord

North and Grey, to the parochial library, at Rougham in Norfolk, founded by the honourable Roger North, for the use of that parish and the neighbouring clergy.

Ballard's British Ladies—Biographium Fœmineum.

THE END OF THE FIFTH VOLUME.

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